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GENERAL ANSON STAGER.

NO ADEQUATE memorial of Anson Stager has yet been written, and none can be until many of the useful enterprises he set on foot have completed their full measure of good in the world; until the science he did so much to develop and promote shall have grown to its limits of power; and until his personal influence and example have ceased their fruitage in the lives of those who were about him when he was yet an actor in the busy places of the world. Yet there is much concerning him that can with profit be set down here, as an illustration of what can be done if a man with a clear brain and willing hands but sets himself seriously to the real labors and responsibilities of life.

General Stager found his origin in a strong and hardy native stock, fitted for the furnishing of such elements as are needed to command success and produce results in the growing country in which his lot was cast, when the lines of

life and grooves of labor were not so clearly set as they are at present. His grandfather, the representative of a good old Holland family, came to this country near the beginning of the present century, and entering into the spirit of his adopted land, served as a soldier on the American side, in the war of 1812. His father, was a manufacturer of edge-tools in Rochester, New York, where he continued in that business until his death, in 1843. The son Anson, who was born in Ontario county, New York, on April 20, 1825, was a stirring and robust lad, and after receiving a fair educational start, set out at the age of sixteen to be of some practical use in the world. He had filled in a part of his time for a year past as carrier boy on the Rochester *Advertiser*, and on January 1, 1841, entered that office for the purpose of learning the printer's trade. He ended his apprenticeship in 1846, having for a portion of that time been

employed on the *Daily American*. His departure from the business he had taken so long to learn, and his adoption of the one in which he won such fame and was of such grand benefit to his country, so well illustrate the grasp of his mind and the method of his thought, that I cannot refrain from relating the story in detail. The New York papers had reached Rochester, and hasty clippings had been made from them, to appear a few hours later in the local sheet as the latest news from the great outside world. One of these was given young Stager to place in type, but his eye had no sooner fallen upon it, than it took a strong hold upon his attention, and made his hands that usually were so prompt, go with such slowness that the foreman again and again called to him to make haste. He replied that the clippings were of no immediate importance; words ensued, and the result was that the young typo put on his coat and hat, and left the office for good. The little scrap of paper that had fallen into his hands was a brief description of the electric telegraph which was then becoming known to the world. What he had read had taken such hold on his mind and so dominated his thought, that when he left the office of the *Daily American*, he went straight to that of the newly-established telegraph and made arrangements to learn the trade of operator. He worked under Henry O'Reilly, and in a short time thereafter had so mastered the business that on the opening of the first line between Philadelphia and Harrisburgh, he was

given charge of the office at Lancaster, in the fall of 1846.

From that time forward his course was held steadily onward and upward. To give a full history of his connection with the great science and commercial force during the first thirty years of its development and growth, would be to relate that of the electric telegraph itself. He touched it at almost every point, he gave it his whole time and best thought, he adapted it to the varying requirements of the conditions about it, he gave it his most loyal belief, and by his earnestness made others believe in it. Only an outline of his services therein must suffice. His skill, and the conduct of his office at Lancaster, were of such high character that he was soon promoted to Pittsburgh, and his success there was such that he was soon moved still higher up, and found himself at the office in Cincinnati. While there, the New York & Mississippi Valley company's lines, connecting Buffalo, New York, with Louisville, Kentucky, were projected, and Mr. Stager was made the first general superintendent thereof, which prominent position he had attained within six years after his entrance on the telegraph business. In July of 1852, through the absorption of the New York State Printing Telegraph company's lines by the Mississippi Valley Printing Telegraph company, his supervision was extended over New York state. While in this position he was one of the active spirits in the movement which resulted in the consolidation of a number of small and

struggling lines into the great organization, which, under the name of the Western Union Telegraph company, has become famous the world over. Before that arrangement, by which ruin was averted from many of the smaller companies and a grand success and triumph for the telegraph achieved, there had been some days of great darkness. As a picture of those times, I quote the following from Mr. James D. Reid's able and elaborate book entitled 'The Telegraph in America:'

Among other incidents which prefaced the morning, which after a time came flushed with the rosy light of a brighter day, was one significant enough to remember. One stormy night J. H. Wade and Anson Stager met by accident at an eating counter in Shelby, Ohio. Neither of them was in the condition of ordering a square meal. Hunger drew them together and made them communicative. Wade acknowledged over his pork and beans that he was making nothing, and told Stager to stop whistling and confess. Stager, thus appealed to, rested a moment from his corn-beef hash and acknowledged that the balances were on the wrong side. This led to a comparison of notes, and to a pretty clear evidence that the business was enough for one but starvation for two. Duplicate and triplicate rents and double force were eating up the entire income. It became a question with Wade whether to join the O'Reilly or the printing lines. It resulted in Wade's going to Rochester, a union of interests, an issue of \$100,000 of bonds at seventy for a fresh effort, a general closing up of all duplicate expenses—and success.

On the creation of the Western Union, and the placing of its general management in the hands of Mr. Wade, Mr. Stager was made general superintendent, and of his capacity and labors in that position, the history above quoted says:

Mr. Wade found a valuable coadjutor in Anson Stager, whom the company selected in 1851 as its general superintendent, and who prior to that period

had been the able and skilful manager of the operating department of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & Louisville Telegraph company, at Cincinnati, Ohio. A happier choice could not have been made. In the work now before him, in the rearrangement of the lines, in the strengthening of the outside structure, and especially in bringing the great railroad interests into intelligent sympathy with the operations of the company, making them perceive how deeply their own interests were connected with the use of telegraph, Mr. Stager was Mr. Wade's right-hand man. Acting with Mr. Sibley, who now accepted the presidency of the company, the sagacity, push, wisdom, practical knowledge and discretion of these men, had much to do with the overwhelming influence which the Western Union Telegraph company so soon after exerted in telegraphic affairs.

It was indeed a life of labor and responsibility upon which Mr. Stager had entered, and he found himself equal to it, and prepared to faithfully fulfill any trust laid upon him. "The wonderful growth of the Western Union," says one, "from its insignificant beginning with a single wire from Buffalo to Louisville to its full and perfect stature, was a time of untiring labor to Anson Stager. As general superintendent of the Western Union he located at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1856, and applied himself with zeal to the restoration of the impaired lines, and to the negotiation of contract rights with various railroad companies, whereby their interests were greatly subserved, and his own company enabled to overcome opposition, and become indissolubly connected with the commercial and other interests of the nation."

The importance to the telegraph, as well as the railroad, of the arrangement for mutual benefit that was then made is hardly understood by the public, and may be referred to here. The ad-

vantages to be secured in the management of the road were so long ago known that they need not be enumerated, and suffice it to say that there is not a railroad in the country, that would attempt to operate for a day without the telegraph line that is strung beside it. The value to the telegraph company was the securing of protected routes for its through lines, an exclusive right to operate along the railroad's right of way, and the diminishing of office expenses by the employment of station agents everywhere, instead of maintaining distinct offices as would otherwise have been necessary. Superintendent Stager took hold of this problem and aided very materially in working it out, giving to it all his wonderful energy and skill. He had become familiar with most of the railroad men of the country, and being very popular with them could conduct negotiations in the favor of his company that could not have been possible with a stranger. He gave his time to meetings with railroad officials, to whom he explained the use of the telegraph in the running of trains, and gradually contract after contract was made, and the Western Union was set on foundations from which it has never been shaken. In this and in the other responsible labors of his position, Mr. Stager worked steadily, until time brought him into a grand field of patriotic usefulness on the breaking out of the war.

On April 12, 1861, when the rebel guns opened fire on Fort Sumter, William Dennison, governor of Ohio, among his first movements in the bringing of

Ohio loyally up to the line of her duty, telegraphed Mr. Stager at his Cleveland home, asking him to go immediately to Columbus. The call was promptly answered, when the governor asked him to take charge of all the telegraph lines in southern Ohio, and to assist Captain George B. McClellan, who was to command the military department to which Ohio belonged. The governor also asked him to prepare a telegraphic cipher by which the chief executives of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois could safely communicate with each other. He promptly complied with this request, and much of the early correspondence by which these great states arranged for a mutual defense of the Union was conducted therein. At a later date he prepared another cipher alphabet, used by Allen Pinkerton in Kentucky, and by Generals McClellan, Anderson and Fremont in their campaigns in West Virginia, Kentucky and the west.

On May 27, 1861, McClellan appointed Mr. Stager superintendent for military purposes of all telegraphic lines within the department of the Ohio. He went to work with his accustomed zeal, and made all possible arrangements by which the lines of the states bordering on the Ohio river, could be made an effective and reliable weapon in the hands of the north. Between the battle of Philippi and July 10, he was actively engaged in concentrating supplies, and in the organization of parties of men who were to be set at the novel task of following an army with a telegraph line, building it as they moved; and when McClellan, in July, advanced

from Clarksburgh, the first field telegraph ever used by an army was carried forward with him. Mr. Stager worked in this position with such ability, and produced such practical results, that his reputation soon reached the ears of the high officials at Washington, and on October 16 he received a dispatch from Thomas A. Scott, assistant secretary of war, asking him to go to Washington, where his views were needed on important telegraphic matters. On reaching there, he was asked to prepare a plan for the organization of a telegraph department for government service. He did so, and his suggestions were promptly accepted. He was asked to put them into proper execution, and on agreeing to do so was appointed brigade quartermaster, with the rank of captain, and detailed as general superintendent of government telegraphs in all the departments. On February 26, 1862, Captain Stager was commissioned colonel, and attached as aide-de-camp to Mr. Stanton, the secretary of war. His work was of a most serious and exacting character, and while it was not of a nature to be heralded by proclamations or announced by bulletins, or to demand a daily page in the stirring history of war events, it was none the less important, and had a valuable part in the subduing of the rebellion. Success depended on immediate and definite knowledge, and it was a part of his great task to see that every movement of every army, east or west, was known in Washington on the moment it occurred. This was no easy task, over states filled with hostile armies and a hostile people, with chaos

everywhere, and with much of the information needed, to be obtained at points miles away from any fixed station. But each exigency of the day was met by fertile invention, and the whole task was carried forward by an executive ability the like of which few men possess. During the first years of the war Colonel Stager was almost constantly at Washington, and always at work. The long strain and the heavy burden soon told on him, and his health gave way to such a degree that in April, 1863, he was allowed to locate his permanent headquarters at Cleveland, so that he could receive the comfort and rest of his home. The whole system was yet closely held in his hand, and when occasion required he gave personal attention to matters, making a number of visits to various points in the field. He was on intimate personal terms with President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, and was often consulted with by them touching matters within his province. He was a master of every detail pertaining to his position and its requirements, and his operations extended from New York to Florida. As an executive officer he had few equals, and when he set a line of policy in operation, he made it his business to see that it was carried out, even to the most trivial detail. The cryptography used in the government telegraphic correspondence was his, and it was so ingeniously planned that it baffled the most persistent efforts of the rebel telegraphers, and none of them were able to decipher such messages as fell into their hands, or were stolen from the wires. He re-

remained in the service until the close of the war, retiring to private life in September, 1865, and receiving the brevet title of brigadier-general, for valuable and meritorious services. Touching the extent and value of his services in the army, the *New York Tribune* of a recent date has the following:

The story of the telegraph department is inseparably interwoven with that of the national army itself, and cannot be related here; but it may be stated that the fifteen thousand miles of line and their operation from May 1, 1860, to June 30, 1865, cost the government only two million six hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred dollars. Probably six million five hundred thousand messages were transmitted in that time, making an average cost of forty cents each. While it is remembered that many of these were long, many were sent great distances, and many were the means of winning battles and campaigns, it is seen that in this department the government got more for its money, probably, than in any other; and the history of that department is a splendid monument to the memory of Anson Stager, whose death is just announced.

On his return to a life of peace, with a national fame and enlarged experience, General Stager once more turned his attention to the Western Union Telegraph company, and gave it the full benefit of his services. Soon after the close of the war, the consolidation of the Southwestern and American Telegraph companies with the Western Union, necessitated a reorganization of the latter, and the general superintendency of the consolidated company was offered to General Stager, which he declined. The result was the creation of three grand divisions, the Central, Eastern and Southern, and General Stager accepted control of the first-named, as it left him in charge of his old territory, with his headquarters at

Cleveland, where his home was located. Here he remained for four years, busy in many ways, residing in a beautiful home near that of his fellow-worker of the early days and life-long friend, Mr. J. H. Wade, with his family growing about him, and loved and honored by the entire community. But the exigencies of his position did not long allow him to remain here. The growth of business in the Mississippi valley, and the filling in of the western states during the few years following the war, demanded that his headquarters should be at a place farther west, and Chicago was the point decided upon. In 1869 the transfer was made, and Cleveland lost one of her foremost citizens, and a man of whose fame and character she well had reason to be proud. He abided by the Western Union faithfully until its control passed into hands that represented the new speculative era, and he chose to sever the connection he had so long held. In October, 1881, he retired from the company, after a service of the most able and useful character, and carried with him the knowledge that he had been one of the chief instruments through which commercial and scientific telegraphy has become what it is to-day. His influence had been felt in many practical ways of which the world was not aware. To him is due the credit of first economizing batteries by charging many wires at the same time from the same source. He also connected long lines, and so saved time and the risks that arise by the repetition of messages. He was in the early days one of the best practical

operators to be found the country over. His ingenuity was wonderful. The story of his adventure in ordering a locomotive on the Fort Wayne road has been told many times, but as illustrative of the above statement can be briefly repeated here. He was traveling on business in company with General T. T. Eckert when the train for some cause became disabled and could not proceed. After waiting for some time General Stager, who could not brook delay, asked the conductor if he would order another engine from the station if he would cut the wire and send the order. The reply being in the affirmative, General Stager ordered the wire cut, and by taking one end thereof in his hand and tapping on a short wire, inserted in the ground, sent the message and received the answer by placing the wire on his tongue and noting the pulsations thereof. The engine was sent, and the passengers, who had looked on with amused amazement, were soon hurried away upon their journey.

Whether or not General Stager was the first to read telegraphic messages by sound, and thus opened the way to a vast improvement in the operating room, it remains a fact that he discovered the method independent of anyone else, and set it in operation at a very early date, and the burden of testimony is in his favor as the original discoverer. On that point he has left an interesting reminiscence, given by him to a Chicago reporter some years before his death, and from that interview I extract the following:

"I was," said the general, "one of the original

Morse operators. Formerly we had registers and narrow strips of paper, like tapes, wound around them. As the weights pulled the tape down past the instrument, the key marks of the Morse alphabet would be indented, and from these indentations the operators read the messages on the tape. I was the telegraph operator in Pittsburgh. It was early in 1843; the wires there were the first stretched across the Alleghanies. But we did little business in those days. In fact, half the work of the office was showing strangers how the instruments worked. I think that I was about the first to read messages by sound. Certainly I had to read them before I knew of anyone else doing it. Erastus Brooks, just about that time, came to Pittsburgh and bought out the *Gazette*. It was a responsible duty to collect the telegraphic dispatches, and the chief editor used to come himself to my office for that purpose. The markets were sent in cipher. One day my register broke down while Brooks was waiting for the report. A steamer had just landed in New York, and the news was important. But the register was in such a state that patching would not do. Brooks was in despair. Of course, in those days, as now, our office calls were recognizable to the ear. It was with this in mind that I said to Brooks: 'Wait a little while and I will try another plan.' I explained matters to the operator at the other end, asked him to go slow, and between my knowledge of the cipher and the good-natured repetition of each link of it by my down east friend, I managed to get the whole of the market report. Brooks left a delighted man. I make no claims, but I tell you my own experience." The reporter asked General Stager: "Did the new improvement take?" "On the contrary," responded the general, "the officers fought against it. Every commercial message, they said, must be read from the tapes. They insisted that they wanted something for a record. We used to bundle up the tapes and keep them for reference to compare with errors, and find out whether the sender or the receiver was to blame. It was a long time before the officers discovered that such errors could be detected just as well from taking a letter-press copy of the message."

General Stager's heart was ever open in sympathy toward the men under him, and although he exacted faithfulness, industry and a strict obedience, he was very anxious that the services of the

operators while in the field should be recognized, and he did everything in his power to bring about such a result. A characteristic incident arose from his connection with the Telegrapher's Mutual Benefit association. He was a member of that organization, and as such his heirs were entitled to receive one thousand dollars on his death. When his executors came to look over his papers, they found among them his certificate of membership, and upon it the following endorsement:

To be presented to the association at my death.
April 20, 1880.

ANSON STAGER.

It is needless to say that the direction was complied with and that the association was enriched that much through his thoughtful generosity.

While the telegraph was the chief business of General Stager's life, it by no means was the only avenue through which he made his talents and capital of use in the world. During the latter years of his life, he was quite busy in other directions. While residing in Cleveland he was a member of the Cleveland Rolling Mill company, and a director in the Citizen's Saving and Loan association. He was the founder of the Western Electrical Manufacturing company, whose works were first located in this city but afterwards removed to Chicago, and which grew to be one of the largest establishments of the kind in the world. He held its presidency up to the first of January, 1885, and was the mainspring that set it in motion and kept it going. After its removal to Chicago he became to a certain extent the representative of the Vanderbilt in-

terests in the west. He was largely interested in railroads, holding positions in the directories of the Michigan Central, the New York, Chicago & St. Louis, and the Chicago & Northwestern. He was a director in the Northwestern National Bank of Chicago; was actively engaged in the Babcock Manufacturing company, and several other smaller enterprises; was a director in the Cantilver Bridge company for several seasons; was also in the Allen Paper Car Wheel company in the same capacity; a member of the board of trustees of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, and an earnest and valuable aid in many ways to them all. But lines of business that touched the electric spark in any form, and that harnessed it down and made it do some of the work and bear some of the burden of the world, were the nearest his heart, and found in him a champion and a friend. He was prominently identified with the development of the telephone business of Chicago and the northwest, and had an abiding faith in the instrument from the start. He was president of all the telephone companies in Chicago from their start, and brought about the consolidation by which their interests were made as one. He was a prominent factor in the introduction of the electric light into Chicago, and was the president of the Western Edison Electric Light company from the day of its foundation to that of his death. He was of efficient aid to the authorities of Chicago in promoting the usefulness of the fire-alarm telegraph system, and in making it an important servant to the public. He was inter-

ested in organizations not connected with business affairs, being a Mason, and holding his membership in Oriental Commandery Knights Templar, of Cleveland, until the time of his death. He was founder of the Commercial Club of Chicago, and one of its most energetic and generous supporters. He was among the founders of the Calumet club and its first president. He was for years prominently identified with the Episcopal church, worshipping in Trinity, of which he was vestryman for many years.

It was out of this busy and beneficent life that Anson Stager was called, on Thursday, March 26, 1885. The robust constitution and immense vitality of his early years had responded to many calls upon them, and toward the end began to show signs of the heavy drain. Early in the year he gave evidence of physical failing, although his mind was as clear and bright and his cheerfulness as marked as ever. Bright's disease, complicated with other troubles, had taken a hold upon him, and no skill of the best physicians of the country could stay the advance of the destroyer or save him to the friends and family who loved him so well. On the Sunday before his death he was told that he had only a few more hours upon earth. The message found him prepared to meet it with resignation and faith, and no sign of fear or wavering doubt seemed to lie in the path he must travel for a little season longer. A life clear and complete in simple honor and truth, and with no stains to mar it or make him afraid, arose up before him, and he peacefully accepted the decision, and felt that God

had been good to give him the years he had enjoyed and the success he had won. For his family he would have lived a little longer; for himself he was content. He called his dear ones to his bedside, and asked that there should be no sorrowful faces about him, but that each should take hold upon the patient trust on which he was stayed. To each he gave some little souvenir, and asked that it should be treasured in memory of him. Then he quietly arranged his business affairs and calmly turned his face toward the end.

It came quietly, and in peace. The inroads of the disease had told upon him, and for the last two or three days no vitality remained, and the last great change was hourly expected. Toward the close he was still sufficiently conscious to recognize those who came about him, but that was all. At three o'clock on Thursday morning, as the new day was falling softly upon the earth, his spirit winged its flight to the regions of eternal life.

The wife who had walked so many years beside him had gone before him on the long journey. When starting out in life, on November 14, 1847, he married Miss Rebecca Sprague of Buffalo, who died on November 22, 1883. Of the children who had been born to them, only three remained to mourn his loss—Mrs. F. S. Gorton of Chicago, Mrs. Ralph W. Hickox of Cleveland, and Miss Ellen Sprague Stager of Chicago.

When the announcement of his death was made to the city of his chosen home and to the country he had so

worthily served, the expressions of grief were universal, sincere and profound. By personal calls, by letter and by wire the sorrowing friends were made to feel that their loss was that of the people everywhere, and that the lesson of a worthy life had been heeded on all sides and become the seed of admiration and respect as deep as it was universal. The highest officials of the land, as well as the most humble operator or message boy who had served under him, felt that in Anson Stager they had lost a friend. The corporations, societies and associations of which he had been a part voiced their grief and spoke their admiration in resolutions that uttered no empty praise. The public press, not only of the great cities but in all directions, declared that his loss was that of the people, and paid eloquent and extended tribute to his worth. A leading journal of Chicago struck the keynote of public feeling over his loss when it said:

Chicago has lost many prominent citizens during the last year or two, but not one who will be more missed than Anson Stager, or one who has made a nobler record as a public-spirited citizen. His remarkable executive ability qualified him for the holding of responsible public positions, and he administered them with rare skill and fidelity. . . . General Stager's services to the government during the war constitute the most distinguished feature of his long and useful career. In this direction his friends may claim the highest distinction for his memory. . . . For this duty he was specially qualified, not alone by his executive ability, but by his practical and scientific knowledge of the business. It is doubtful whether any other man in the country, at that time, could have accomplished so much with it as he, or could have rendered such important assistance in perfecting the communication between the government and its armies. . . . Death has cut down the busy worker, and his long and honorable career is closed, leaving behind a record of which

his family and friends have the right to be proud, and which they will cherish after time has mitigated present griefs.

General Stager's friendship to Cleveland had always been deep-seated and warm, and here he had decided that he would rest when the labors of life should end. He had secured a beautiful lot in Lake View cemetery, and there his beloved wife had been laid to await his coming. His funeral was held in Chicago, at the family residence on Michigan avenue. A large gathering of friends paid the final marks of affection and respect. The remains reposed in a heavily draped casket, which was surrounded by a wealth of floral offerings from the Commercial club, the Western Union offices, and other organizations with which he had been connected. The services were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Osborne, rector of Trinity, who delivered a brief but affecting address, in which he referred to the sterling worth and many good qualities of the departed, which had endeared him to his fellowmen, and would keep his memory green. At the conclusion of the services the body was reverently conveyed to a special train in waiting at the Lake Shore depot, and taken to Cleveland. A number of Chicago's prominent citizens accompanied the family on their sad journey, and the pall-bearers comprised the following gentlemen: Marshall Field, J. Russell Jones, A. F. Seeberger, George Sturgis, Robert T. Lincoln, A. A. Sprague, N. K. Fairbanks, Martin Ryerson, Norman Williams, J. W. Doane and Charles Fargo.

Cleveland was reached at an early hour on the following morning, where a large number of General Stager's friends were in waiting. The remains were conveyed to the residence of Mr. Charles Hickox on Euclid avenue, where at a later hour a prayer was read by Dr. Osborne, and then the last stage of the sad journey was entered upon. When Lake View was reached, Dr. Osborne read the solemn and beautiful service of the Episcopal Church, and the mortal part of Anson Stager was given back to the earth from which it came.

Some idea of the personal characteristics, native strength and genuine manhood of Anson Stager can be gained from the above, and yet no pen picture can present the man as he was, and call him back in the full proportions held in the memories of those who knew him best. An executive ability of the most commanding character has been justly ascribed to him, and all the results possible to any given means were brought about in any duty committed to his hands. This was clearly demonstrated in the many positions he held, where men without that talent could have done nothing. He possessed an inventive ability of a high order, as was shown by the various improvements he made in the practical line of telegraphic operation. He followed no blind precedents, but created them as the occasion demanded, and wherever he could make the new way improve upon the old. He was broad and clear in his intellectual grasp, quick in decision, and wise and just in administration. Through

every movement of his business and private life there shone a rigid and unflinching integrity which never yielded to any stress of circumstances, and was never misled by any plausible considerations of policy. In his public career and private life he was recognized by all as an upright, honest man. He was generous beyond the measure of most men, and it was a pleasure to him that his friends should share in any venture in which his clear vision had seen the certainty of success. He was quick and sure in his judgment of character, trusting fearlessly when he had once given his confidence, and thus enlisting the loyal and sympathetic support of those who labored with him. As one of the tributes laid upon his bier declared, "He turned aside with manly and unwavering detestation from the devious paths into which the managers of great business enterprises are often tempted, and has passed away from earth, not only without a stain on his business record, but conspicuous among all who knew him for his unbending integrity." He was, in the highest sense, loyal in all his relations of life, and when his word was once given it could be depended on to the end. Though very quiet and unostentatious in his manner, he had a heartiness of disposition, a genuine love of humor and pleasure, and a social side which led him to seek and take delight in human association, as it is found in social gatherings, in clubs, in healthful outdoor sports; and above all, in his own home, where his good qualities were best known and where it was his delight to be.

If any one knew Anson Stager it was Mr. J. H. Wade, who was in close social and business companionship with him for many years, and between the two there ran a strong personal bond of friendship and respect that held unto the last. They knew and honored each other as rivals, they next worked together in the long and heavy labor of years, and after wealth and fame came to them both they lived for a long time side by side as neighbors and the closest friends. Whenever General Stager would return to his old home after his removal to Chicago, the first man he would seek out would be Mr. Wade. When Mr. Wade was in Chicago his first impulse was to find his old friend. Knowing him thus, Mr. Wade finds it within his knowledge to declare that General Stager was beyond question one of the men among whom should be divided the honor of making the science of telegraphy what it is. His tribute is paid earnestly and without hesitation. He endorses the highest eulogies that have been spoken in honor of his old companion in arms, and says that no words are too strong to be used in describing General Stager's part in the building up of this great line of commerce, or his services to his country in the war.

I will quote, in closing this sketch, the testimony of one who for over twenty years knew General Stager in the smaller details of office life:

He was clear-headed and shrewd to a wonderful degree. He possessed a large share of personal

magnetism; knew how to obtain the best men, and to tie them to him afterwards. He was capable of an endless amount of work, and was never afraid to do it. Whenever he saw any one in distress, he could not rest until some means of relief had been taken. He was good to his men, and they knew that in him they had a friend. When any one approached him with a suggestion that ran counter to his idea, it was well to be prepared to maintain it at all points, for if there was a weakness anywhere in it, the general's quick eye would detect it and make that the point of attack. He would often seem set in his own way, and argue with great vehemence in support thereof, only to bring out the full strength of his opponent, and then suddenly surprise the latter by deciding in his favor, in case his way of thinking was the best. He never held to an idea or forced a measure against the public good, or that did not hold for its object the good of the interests that had been reposed in his hands.

His fund of good nature and humor never ran low, and many good stories might be related in illustration of the fun-loving side of his nature. He gave a joke as he took one, but no touch of malice or littleness ever actuated him therein.

Standing under the light of a life and character like this, and viewing the ground in which they had germ and the influences under which they grew, one cannot but feel that the best types of manhood are created and developed on this American soil, and that what one has done worthily, another may do as well. Viewed thus, the work of Anson Stager is not yet done; but out of the past his memory arises in grand proportions, and stands as an example and incentive to the youth of the generations that are to come.

J. H. KENNEDY.

WADE, THE SENATOR 1851-1853.

VII.

WASHINGTON had been the capital since the year 1800. At the time thus taken possession of by the government, save the little incorporation of Georgetown, the Maryland side of the Potomac was an unpeopled region. It was soon occupied by folk who were drawn thither to become the tavern and boarding-house keepers, livery and hackmen, the servants and boot-blacks, market-men and small shopkeepers, of the office-holders and employés of the government, the waiters, servants and the lackeys of senators and members of the house, and the visitors of the home and residence of what made the state the visible government of the great Republic. In any estimate of the city, this origin of its population is not wholly to be lost sight of even now. At the time it became the senatorial residence of Mr. Wade, the city had a population of forty thousand. Of this, fifteen thousand were colored, including about three thousand slaves, reckoning every human being supposed to have a tincture of servile blood. On Seventh street, at the margin of the malaria-breathing canal, was the slave-pen and persuasive whipping-post, in full sight of the capital. This found its counterpart in the city prison, on the northeast corner of Judiciary square. The Maryland slave code was in force, and just a more unlovely and unwholesome town did not exist in the civilized world than the city which straggled up and down the left bank of the river and calling itself Washington. The capitol was the older structure with its ancient dome. The foundations of the house-wing were laid in 1850, the senate chamber was the present supreme court room. The then hall of the house, is now given over to the stone presentiments of the great men of the states, two and two, as the present generation may elect. Congressional and social life at the capital were not then what they now are. It was then much more to be a member of congress. It cost much less money and more brains. American colossal fortunes did not then exist. Journalism, railroad-ing, telegraphy, were in their infancy. The capital had no attractions save to politicians, few visitors, and no sojourners of the wealthy, who sought it as a social centre. A very few senators, and rarely a member of the house, had their families with them at Washington. They formed "messes," lived in boarding-houses, in the kind of *he* way that men will, severed from the ties, influences, and it may be added, restraints of home and home life. A more dreary, unattractive life, for a cultured man of social instincts and habits, no where was endured, than that of the average congressman of the

time of Mr. Wade's adventure at Washington. He suffered less by it than did many—most of the men of his time.

Members of congress then received eight dollars per day, counting all the days of the week, and a liberal mileage by any roundabout route. They provided also for perquisites, in the way of stationery and cutlery, and enjoyed the franking privilege—so long the target of Horace Greeley's assaults.

Mr. Wade fixed himself in Mrs. Hyatt's boarding house, on the south side of Pennsylvania avenue, between Sixth and Seventh streets, west of the capitol, where I found him in 1861.*

The Thirty-second congress convened December 1, 1851, when Frank Wade entered upon, became a part of, that public life of which he had before, with the mass of men, only read and heard. Of the three greatest American senators, Calhoun died the year before, at sixty-eight; Webster, of the same age, born in 1782, left the senate the year Calhoun died, to become secretary of state; Clay, in many ways the greatest of the three, born in 1777, was still in the senate. Can any one explain the law by which great men come in groups?

Wade's old foe of the forum in the collision trial was now President of the United States, stepping to the place by the death of Zachary Taylor. He favored the compromise measures, opposed Taylor's administration, and placed Webster at the head of his cabinet, with Corwin secretary of treas-

ury—of all men not a financier, and to that time a pronounced anti-slavery Whig, as had been Fillmore. In 1848 he was a possible President. Upon the passage of the fugitive slave act the President referred it perfunctorily, one must think, to his attorney-general, John Jordon Crittenden (a year younger than Webster), a born slaveholder, who found it to be entirely constitutional, and he signed it—a measure decisive of his political fate as of that of his financial minister and many more.

At the opening of the senate Mr. Chase presented the credentials of Mr. Wade, and he was sworn. He was then fifty-one years old, as will be remembered. Mr. Chase was forty-three at that time.

The old senate chamber is a semi-circle. The straight side its eastern wall, at the centre of which was the vice-presidential chair, then filled by William R. King. The senators' seats were arranged in four arcs of the circle. The Whig side was the left of the President, the south of the chamber. Mr. Wade took one of the innermost, the second from the left. Mr. Seward, as will be remembered, entered the senate the congress before. He was a year younger than Mr. Wade. He introduced his colleague, Hamilton Fish, born the same year with Chase, 1808. Charles Sumner entered the senate the same day. He, as will be remembered, was elected by a coalition of the Freesoilers and Democrats, after a long and exciting contest. He was then forty years old, and was introduced by General Cass, and took his seat on

* East, west, north, south and their intermediates, in Washington directories, mean the given direction from the capitol.

the Democratic side. No American of his time had been so favorably received in England as he, unless we except N. P. Willis. He was always English in his air, and his presence produced a solitude. Cass was then sixty-nine. Mr. Wade now saw the senators together, had seen many of them before. In glancing around the not spacious chamber, Clay, old, worn, and feeble, like a dying lion still kingly, sat in the outer circle, almost behind him, with Seward at his left. Following that circle round to the seat next the broad corridor, leading from the front entrance, his eye fell on the compact, squat, jug-like form of Stephen A. Douglas, with his large head and short legs.*

The Virginia Mason, captured by Commodore Wilkes, with Slidell, a few years later, sat conspicuous on the Democratic side—outer circle. There was also his chief, Jefferson Davis, with Henry S. Foote for colleague. Next Mason sat Chase, beyond Chase, Hannibal Hamlin. John Bell of Tennessee was there. James A. Pearce of Maryland sat in that senate a Whig. There, too, was Rhett and "Duke" Gwin, now from California, with Ohio's John B. Weller, whom Ford beat for governor, for colleague. John P. Hale had a seat on that side also. Sam Houston, gigantic, rosy and handsome, was there, as were Hunter, Berrien and honest John Davis, Sumner's colleague; of course

there was a Bayard from Delaware, Pierre Soule was there, as was Jesse D. Bright; so was Mangum, with Berrien from Georgia. It was an exceptionally able body, even for the American senate, and an abler man than Frank Wade would be slow to gain recognition and make position for himself in it—which no man did in one congress if we except Seward, Chase and Sumner. A full senate numbered sixty-two. Dividing on old party issues, now disappearing, there was a decided Democratic majority.

There were then but five senators certain under all conditions to oppose slavery. John P. Hale, the hero of the New Hampshire revolution of '45-6, and elected to the senate in 1847, at the age of forty-one; Seward, Chase, Sumner and Wade. Of these, Seward and Wade were also pronounced Whigs. Hale had been a Democrat, as was Chase, though he supported Harrison in 1840. Sumner, by education and instinct, was a Whig. It must have cost the Democrats an awful strain to vote for him, as it certainly did their brethren of Ohio to vote for Chase.†

It was supposed that congress now convened in a period of universal calm, under serene skies, on ground never again to be agitated. The incipient struggle of the forces was hushed to perpetual silence. Slavery triumphant, the energies of freedom and justice were tied down

* "No, sir; no, sir! He can never be President," declared positive Colonel Benton; "his—(not the skirts of his coat, as has been reported)—is too near the ground, sir!" Benton had been defeated for that senate by Henry S. Geyer. He died in 1858, at the age of seventy-four.

† "Here, Lord, I give myself away,
'Tis all that I can do,"

was the pious exclamatory quotation of devoted Luther Montfort, Democratic representative of Darke county, when he cast his ballot for Chase in my hearing. Darke would not stand it.

with the spinnings of the grim congressional spiders beyond recovery.

If the senate was exceptionally able, selecting out fifteen or twenty names, the house was a commonplace crowd. There were Stevens and Toombs from Georgia, Orr of South Carolina, Humphrey Marshall and Breckinridge of Kentucky, Giddings, Carter and Townsend from Ohio, Clingman from North Carolina, Andrew Johnson from Tennessee, Thaddeus Stevens from Pennsylvania, Preston King from New York, Cleveland from Connecticut, Hibbard from New Hampshire, Robert Rantoul and Horace Mann from Massachusetts. The caucuses began by quarreling over the compromise measures, but the members elected Lynn Boyd speaker, on the first ballot. Thaddeus Stevens received sixteen votes, about the radical anti-slavery strength of that body.

The two houses exchanged messages and congress advised the President of its readiness to receive executive communications, and he responded with his second annual message.

Mr. Seward had supplanted Mr. Fillmore in the leadership of the New York Whigs. A virtuous, upright man, the handsomest of the Presidents, he was not without ambition; was desirous of succeeding himself. He was aware that a northern man must do more for the south than she would exact from one of her own sons, to secure her favor. It is probable, had General Taylor lived, the compromise measures would have been defeated. Mr. Fillmore began by opposing his administration. He favored and approved these meas-

ures, and his first annual message declared them a final settlement. Still the north was restive; the new slave rendition act was resisted, and this gave him a coveted opportunity to remind the south of its obligations to him. The message dealt, with calm, level ability, in the hum-drum style of state papers, with the topics of the time, and, recurring to the violations of the fugitive act, the President requoted the constitution, and went over the dreary corpse-strewn way of the vain argument of constitutional obligation and duty, in the track of which his own remains were soon to rest and be reviled. He again declared these measures "a final settlement."

On the conclusion of his papers' reading, Mr. Foote of Mississippi introduced a resolution enumerating these measures, declaring that they were the final adjustment of the several matters and things involved in or lying under them severally. There never was such a restless, unsettled, unsettling settlement.

In the assignment to committees—a work of the senators—it is curious now to note the disposition made of the anti-slavery men by the Democratic majority. Mr. Seward was last on that of commerce, Mr. Chase second on revolutionary claims, Mr. Hale at the end of private land claims, Mr. Sumner was the tail-piece of Revolutionary claims, as of roads and canals; Mr. Wade was also appended to two—agriculture and claims. One recognizes the fitness of placing both Chase and Sumner on revolutions. One does not now care, save historically, what posts were as-

signed to the slavery leaders. Mason had the foreign relations, Douglas the second on foreign relations, and was chairman of territories—a sadly over-estimated man by his fellows. Intrepid, audacious; unscrupulous, he will be remembered as the breaker of the Missouri wall against slavery, when through the breach thus made rushed the border ruffians and all that followed. Soule had agriculture, Shields the army and District of Columbia—*paddy* that he was; Gwin the navy, Atchinson the Indians, Butler of South Carolina the judiciary, Bright the roads and canals, Houston looked after the militia, and the others had second places. The rule is, the majority take the first and larger share of the places. Mr. Chase was a pronounced Democrat, as was Mr. Hale. The violence against decent usage in their cases marks the estimate of them as anti-slavery men. The judiciary is a leading committee of the senate, next in importance to the foreign relations. The senate was then strong in able lawyers; the Whig Berrien of Georgia was the only good lawyer on it—whatever may be said of Butler, the hero of Sumner's famous Phillipic later.

Considering the treatment of his colleagues and friends, Mr. Wade had no cause of complaint. He was in his seat, had his place, would quietly and silently study his fellows, correct his impressions, let men find him out as they might, and bide his days of usefulness—not of display, this self-reticent descendant of the Bradstreets, Dudleys, Wigglesworths, this son of Mary Up-

ham, born in the bosom of the Feeding Hills of the Puritans.

He and Seward had met before. Seward was fairly the coming man. Then slim, with marked head and face, suave, a philosopher rather than a man of action, he had a large personal following. The two senators at once became fast friends; each did full justice to the fine, strong qualities of the other.

The coalition by which Chase entered the senate lost him the confidence of Wade, as of all the older Whigs of Ohio. It lost him the one chance he might have had for the Presidency. For Wade there was a suspicion of arrogance, a flavor of sham, in the grand assumption of the splendid Sumner. He, too, came in by a Democratic coalition. Neither he or Chase ever had had a personal following. Each was surrounded by worshiping young men and old sycophants, to whom condescension was grateful. Neither had many intimates of their own age and rank. Chase had fine social qualities; could inspire warm attachments. Sumner seemed to care for neither. Most men at each interview with him had to tell him who and what they were. Some grew weary of that. Each had great personal advantages, and were the most striking of the still youthful figures of the senate chamber.

Wade already knew Hale, who had all the qualities of good-fellowship—a handsome personable figure, rosy cheeked, with fancy and dash then at his best, he lacked the patient, persistent industry to realize the possibilities, the promise and prophecy, which attended his foot-

steps. He and our senator became well attached friends, remained such after the decline of Hale's popularity and efforts to sustain himself, and Wade one of the most prominent senators.

Congress is about the last body which should ever deal with claims. It is in no sense, by function or temper, judicial; is without the means of verifying facts. Under the care, skill and industry of Elisha Whittlesey, chairman of the house claims committee, dealing with them was reduced to something like system, and his methods were respected in the senate: Succeeding to his seat, Mr. Giddings succeeded him at the head of the committee, and carried forward the business on his lines until formally deposed by his pro-slavery enemies. Mr. Wade, the partner of the last and pupil of the first, with his legal and judicial ability, though last of his committee, in labor, skill and usefulness, became in a single session quite the first. It was a post where a man can do more work, render more real service, and gain less reputation, perhaps, than in any other senatorial position.

There was one case coming from the house not referred to him, characteristic of the times and the dominant party, growing out of the old Seminole war. It seems that certain Creek warriors, serving in the Georgia contingent, captured certain runaway slaves—maroons—and claimed them as spoil. To save them for their owners, really, General James C. Watson, a Georgia general, advanced fourteen thousand dollars and more to buy them of the Creeks, and it was to pay

to his heirs this advance and interest on it that this bill, in spite of Giddings' war in the house upon it, was pending in the senate. Chase thoroughly understood it, and when Dawson of Georgia called it up, he declared his purpose of debating it. It was laid over and should have come up on Friday—private bill day. In his absence it was called up. Wade made an earnest effort to have it take the usual course, seconded by Sumner, so that his colleague could be present. This was refused, and the bill taken up and passed without discussion.

His only set speech of the first session was in opposition to the Collins subsidy for carrying the United States mails between New York and Liverpool. He evidently thoroughly understood the subject, and dealt with it in his direct western way. General Cass, still sore from his defeat by General Taylor, had made a speech in its favor, was especially worried by his reference to his "noise and confusion" speech at Cleveland, moved thereto by an injudicious remark of Judge Reuben Wood, and insisted on an explanation, to which Wade good-naturedly yielded. It availed him nothing. He and his party were taunted with fifteen years of utter neglect of the lakes and rivers, and interposed again. He finally promised to vote for a properly framed bill for these improvements, knowing full well, as Wade told him, that, under his party management, no bill for such a purpose would ever be seen or heard of. The speech was a compact, vigorous statement of the whole question,

from a western senator, sore under the chronic neglect of his section, rapidly growing to strength and power to care for itself. It was not only impressive upon the question, but made a good impression in the new senator's favor. Reticent, always seen in his seat, not before heard save for a terse statement or sententious explanation.

The provision passed, authorizing twenty-six trips per year, at \$33,000 per trip, approved August 25, 1852. That session ended six days later. It was comparatively an unimportant session. Its perfected labors fill four thousand and forty-seven pages of the thriffling-columned *Globe*. It produced three large volumes of that tumid work. There were notable debates of the finished, completed, settled work of the last congress, in which leading men took part in both houses. In the senate, Cass, Chase, Foote, Hale, Mason, Rhett, and others. Mr. Sumner occupies much space in the *Globe* of that year. The compromise measures early, the fugitive slave act later. Mr. Seward remained silent upon the great and greatly settled slavery issues. That was the year of Kossuth's advent. Foote introduced a resolution the first day of the session to provide a fitting welcome, on which all the group of five, save Wade, were heard.

The great Clay died the twenty-ninth of June, and though the new issues had brought his just fame under eclipse for the day, the Republic will cherish his memory as one of its most valued possessions.

The first session of a congress is always long. The constitution limits the sec-

ond. Usually much real legislative work is accomplished by the second. The perfected laws in the second were larger in bulk than the first, the most of which were largely the work of the earlier session. It is to be remembered that while the senate is in a way a continuing body, congress is not, and that all unfinished business falls at the end of the final session, not to be resumed by the succeeding congress, unless introduced by new bills. Congress has never invented a method of bridging the intervening chasm and save itself much real and perfunctory labor and the Republic much expense.

The second session was a quiet period. It mourned the death of the great Webster and the respectable Upham. Mr. Wade had a notable contest over a private claim, carrying it through against Mr. Broadhead, his chairman. Nobody debated the compromise measures at that session. The Whigs, meantime, had been beaten in the Presidential election. Their party was about to disappear. They were sober and subdued; the victorious Democrats forbearing and silent. Meantime the Galphin and Gardner claims had made their way, and Mr. Corwin was to be investigated, and with the addition of a rather swollen *Globe* and a supplement, that commonplace congress quietly subsided.*

* Most of the speaking men of both houses revise their speeches as they run through the *Globe* presses. This was the habit of all our senators. Such as are retained for more leisurely revision are collected and presented in the supplement. This volume of the *Globe* for the Thirty-second congress contains none of the labors of our group.

Something is to be said of this Presidential election of 1852, of great historical significance, and in the canvass receiving after the adjournment, the entire time and best efforts of Mr. Wade, whose seat in the senate gave him added influence. The struggle between the great parties was for the support of the south.

Reunited and confident, the Democracy met in convention at Baltimore, June 1, 1852. Cass, though seventy, was a candidate, as was Buchanan. Douglas, not yet forty, was also brought forward, as was Marcy. A fear of the old dissensions of his state, was fatal to the best man then prominent in the party. "Manifest destiny," supposed to be a doctrine of Douglas, was injurious to him. Buchanan never had personal popularity. Cass was old, had been unfortunate. Neither could command two-thirds of the votes under the inflexible rule. This condition of things had been anticipated and provided for, and the way carefully prepared for a purely spontaneous upheaval for the youthful Pierce. Caleb Cushing and B. F. Butler had the credit of manipulating this movement, and it succeeded. William R. King was nominated for vice-president.

The platform was eminently Democratic, none ever more so. It fittingly denounced the Abolitionists and all anti-slavery men, lauded the compromise measures and gave the fugitive slave act "honorable mention" by name. "The Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question

under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made," was its unanimous and emphatic declaration.

Mr. Pierce was forty-six years old, handsome, accomplished, plausible, and not without talent in a small way; had served in the house and in the senate, was one of Polk's political generals. That was before the invention of favorite sons. He was one in fact.*

The action of the convention was everywhere, north and south, hailed with Democratic acclaim. The sage of Lindenwold—what a state New York is for Democratic sages! Mr. Van Buren was taken to the Tammany wigwam, threw himself with abandon into the embraces of his whilom foes—forgiven and forgiving. His representatives, who secured his nomination at Buffalo four years before, were some of them in the Baltimore convention, and he and they placed unshod rejoicing feet on its platform.

Two weeks after the nomination of General Pierce, the Whigs met at the same city to select their candidates and declare their sentiments and policy. In view of the catastrophe awaiting them, to look back at now, it seems as if their assembly must have been the saddest body of politicians ever convened. Not without strength, courage and high

* His friend, Nathaniel Hawthorne, wrote a campaign life of him, and had the Liverpool consulate—certainly the best thing flowing from his elevation. Mr. Howells performed the like service for his friend, and received the Venetian consulship. I always thought his much the better work, but it is to be remembered that he had more and better material to go on. His hero certainly never fainted in presence of the enemy. Both works were fortunate incidentally for American letters—safe precedents to follow.

hope, did they meet. Apparently the party was strong and firm at the south. This canvas was to demonstrate that there was a stronger common bond uniting that south than any binding its people to any party.

The convention sat continuously five days. Mr. Webster, Mr. Fillmore and General Scott were the candidates. Of course the President and his secretary of state represented exactly the same idea and issue. Why some arrangement was not had before the convention sat, is a mystery. From the tenacity of the parties in the convention, this was perhaps found impossible.

General Scott was the candidate of the anti-slavery Whigs, unpromising as he was. On the first ballot Mr. Webster received twenty-nine votes—the largest number he ever received. Mr. Fillmore, one hundred and thirty-one; and General Scott one hundred and thirty-three; showing an apparent ease for the administration to control the nomination. Certainly no administration ever occupied such a position before a convention of its own party.

Mr. Clay was then dying in Washington; as will be remembered, did die a few days later. A letter from him was circulated, urging the nomination of Mr. Fillmore. The friends of Mr. Webster were a good deal embittered by this action on his part, and when Mr. W.'s warm, earnest, steady support of Mr. Clay, in 1884, is remembered, this seems little in accordance with his known character. He had never forgiven Mr. Webster for adhering to John Tyler, and in a way shielding him from his fierce assaults

nine and ten years before. Unquestionably, his controlling motive was this vindication of his own course in the last congress. To have nominated any one but the President, would not have been a vindication, so dear to him in extremis.

The anti-slavery Whigs, under Seward's lead, could not be won to support the President, who had no votes from his own great state. Her delegation was solid against him. That alone would be fatal. The marvel-working Choate was at the head of the Massachusetts delegation, and exhausted his power of eloquence and persuasion to secure a complimentary vote, *one pro forma*, from the southern states, for the great expounder who laid down his life—all his lives for it. The charm was powerless. Not a man responded. A crime never atoned.

So the struggle went on until the fifty-third ballot, when Scott was nominated with William A. Graham of North Carolina for second.

The platform in substance was a counterpart of the Democratic. It could not be less. It specifically declared the compromise measures were a settlement, in substance and principle, of the great controversy, including the fugitive slave act by name, and as such accepted by the Whig party. That its acquiescence was essential to its existence as a national party, and the integrity of the Union.

There was a wide and general admiration of General Scott; his nomination produced some enthusiasm, and for the few first weeks the Whigs were not with-

out much hope and confidence. The platform everywhere north was received with derision and execration. Horace Greeley deliberately spat upon it. Indeed, spitting on their platform by the Whigs became an amusing but not a healthy exercise for them, though many of them did little else. I am certain Frank Wade did a fair share of that, and he was a worker. It was fatal to them at the south; an attempt to run the candidate north and the platform south, was never so purposely attempted before. It did not work. Neither run well anywhere. General Scott carried Kentucky and Tennessee, south, and Massachusetts and Vermont north. Pierce carried all the rest, with two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes, to forty-two for his opponent. So far from giving the Whig candidate any, the least, support, the Whig administration, in some instances, openly opposed in others more numerous, secretly betrayed him.

Mr. Clay died without the coveted approval of his party, followed by his greatest rival in October. Mr. Webster was profoundly mortified at the result of the convention, and it was very generally supposed that the melancholy which darkened his closing days was due to this as a cause and helped to lessen their number.*

There remains an important part of the Presidential election to be mentioned. The Freesoil party of 1848 and

the Liberty party of 1840, now merged, had tried to take the name of the Free or Independent Democracy. They put in nomination John P. Hale for President and George W. Julian for Vice-President. They made a vigorous, enthusiastic campaign, and gave 156,000 votes for them. Of these Ohio cast 31,682; Massachusetts, 28,023; New York, 25,329; Illinois, 9,966; Wisconsin, 8,814; Vermont, 8,621; Pennsylvania, 8,525; Michigan, 7,237; Indiana, 6,929; Connecticut, 3,160; Iowa, 1,604; Rhode Island, 644; New Jersey, 350; Kentucky, 265; California, 100; Delaware, 62, and Maryland, 54. These figures were significant, not more in their sum total than in their wide diffusion, sufficient in themselves to secure the defeat of Scott in Ohio, New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, Maine, Iowa and Connecticut, although including many of Democrats. Seemingly never was Democratic power so firmly established, and seemingly on such secure foundations. Pierce's total was 1,601,478; Scott's, 1,386,578; majority over Scott was 214,896, over Scott and Hale 58,747. An examination of his majorities in the southern states compared with them in the great northern, in the presence of Hale's vote, will show how deceptive that was, and the awful significance of the vote for Hale, as also the effect of a united south in solidifying a confronting north. Mr. Pierce placed Mr. Marcy at the head of his cabinet; Mr. Guthrie had the treasury, Robert McClelland the interior, and Cushing, who had been a Whig—a John Tyler

* Whoever cares to see an elaborate brilliant parallel and contrast of these great men, will do well to read Mr. Blaine's striking passages 'Twenty Years, etc.', Vol. I, beginning at page 106.

man and now a Democrat*—was attorney general.

One may fancy the meeting of Seward and Wade at the capitol for the closing session of the current congress. Seward had lost New York only by 1,872 votes, while Hale had received 25,329, mostly Whig. Wade had seen Ohio go for Pierce, on whom he had been bitterly sarcastic, by 16,695, and cast her 31,682 for Hale. They had much in common, and there was great suggestiveness in these figures for them. Mr. Seward, politician and a statesman, was also a philosopher, an inveterate smoker, and found solace in an extra cigar. Wade was a moderate smoker, and clothed himself in pungent and sarcastic sayings, as with a garment, for the benefit of the successful Democracy. Sumner could have found small comfort in Massachusetts' eight thousand for Scott over Pierce, though much hope in her twenty-eight thousand for Hale. Chase had made a vain effort to evangelize the Democracy, and though his state cast her electoral vote for his nominal candidate, upon the promulgation of the Democratic platform he wrote a strong letter to his friend and coadjutor at the Buffalo convention—the B. F. Butler of New York—repudiating the convention and its doings, and declared his purpose of adhering to the principles there set forth. This severed his nominal connection with the Democracy. Of our five, Mr. Hale certainly had most cause for self-congratulation.†

* He became a Republican ultimately, and died a Democrat.

† Mr. Hale and Mr. Giddings met some of the

Three important accessions were made to the senate meantime, John M. Clayton of Delaware, ranking with Cass, Silas Wright and Marcy; Robert Toombs of Georgia, swaggering, assuming and able—both Whigs—and Judah Peter Benjamin of Louisiana, able, artful, treacherous; later, Mr. Davis' secretary of state, still later a subject of Queen Victoria, and a leader of the English bar.‡ Later came Edward Everett and William Pitt Fessenden. He came to remain. Everett's time would be limited. Thomas Hart Benton reappeared in this congress as a representative in the house.

Prince Charming sent his first annual message to congress on its second day. Full of gay promise, he declared that no prominence should be given to any subject set at rest by the compromise acts. The past should only be recurred to for admonition and wisdom. "That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to avert it, younger of us at Cleveland immediately after our state election of that year, at which we elected Edward Wade—the "Ned" of my opening papers—our representative in the thirty-third congress. Mr. Giddings had also been re-elected, and a great dinner in the open air was tendered him by that corner of Ohio, at Painesville, immediately after the election. I drove Mr. Hale, Mr. Giddings and Mr. Edward Wade, in the morning of the day, from Cleveland over the ridge road to Painesville. I had a splendid pair, a light carriage, the road hard and smooth, the country beautiful, the morning one out of Paradise. I was still young and knew horses. It was a drive, a ride, a day never to be forgotten.

‡ At the English bar he not only became famous and wealthy, but he contributed a learned and valuable book to the profession, a standard work on sales; a Jew of the Jews, as his name, qualities and push indicated; he was a native of San Domingo, and then forty-one years old.

those who placed me here may be assured."

This was December 6. January 4, Mr. Douglas introduced the Nebraska bill "and all our woes." Mr. Pierce's supporters had large majorities in both houses! What did he mean?

The bill did not in terms repeal the Missouri compromise of 1820, that Mr. Douglas said, in his accompanying report, would disturb the late settlement—nice casuist! He did, however, report a section declaratory of the meaning of his bill. First, all questions of slavery in the territories and states to be settled by the inhabitants; second, all questions involving slavery to be adjudged by the local courts, with right of appeal to the supreme court of the United States; third, the fugitive slave act should be extended to the territories. On the sixteenth of January, Dixon, Whig senator of Kentucky, gave notice that he would move an amendment repealing the Missouri compromise directly. Of course, Mr. Pierce was not responsible for him.

Mr. Douglas was not inventive, but quick to avail himself of a suggestion. Some one advanced the idea that the compromise of 1850 suspended that of 1820. Mr. Douglas seized upon this, brought in a new amendment and report, based on this "new and useful" discovery. In his amendment occurs the famous declaration—"this does not legislate slavery into the territory or out of it," etc.—which Colonel Benton described as "a section with a stump speech in its belly." The amendment

divided the territory into Nebraska and Kansas.

The American world took alarm. The Freesoilers were the first to take effective action. They promptly issued one of the ablest addresses—terse, compact, vigorous—ever issued by representatives to a constituency. It contains internal evidence of being largely the work of Mr. Chase, written with the aid of a paper prepared by Mr. Giddings, whose hand is very apparent in it. It was signed by Giddings, Chase, Sumner, Edward Wade and Gerret Smith, then in the house, and DeWitt of Massachusetts. It was printed in every leading paper of the north, and fixed public opinion unalterably against the bill. This publication appeared January 23 and 24.*

Mr. Pierce's organ, the *Union*, replied that the Democracy were resolved, and the President would provide for all the senators and representatives who perished in this cause.

On the thirtieth of January, the day named to take up the bill, Mr. Douglas, in stormy wrath, fell abusively upon Chase as responsible for the address. With flashing face the Ohio senator confronted and threw his imputation of misconduct back. Douglas retorted that he had made false statements. The president called him to order. Chase said he should be answered. Later, Wade interrupted him and he answered civilly. His speech was an arraignment of the address and its authors.

* Mr. Hale had lost his seat and was in New York city practicing law.

Mr. Chase arose fully wrought up, and his reply was most effective and happy. It appeared that originally the address was intended for Ohio only, and in its then form was signed by Mr. Wade. Before issued, its originators changed the form and put it forth as from the Independent Democrats, when they omitted Mr. Wade's name. Mr. Wade arose and confirmed this, and emphatically indorsed every word of it. Mr. Sumner got a moment to acknowledge his signature, and declared his purpose at an early day to establish its entire verity. Mr. Seward moved the adjournment that day. There was spirited and angry exchange of personalities between the Ohio and Illinois senators the next day, in which both were called to order. Whatever may have been their relations, this was an end of amity. Mr. Chase finally had great deliverance on the fourth of February—speaking two and a half hours. Ohio had given the largest direct vote against slavery. She had taken decided lead against the Nebraska bill. Her leading senator, as longer in the service, spoke on the third. On the sixth he was followed by her second champion, who declared that his colleague had left not even a dust of Douglas.

It is to be remembered that the region then vaguely called Nebraska, was what was left of the Louisiana purchase, north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, extending to the dividing line with England, and from the west line of the states to the comb of the Rocky mountains.

"Here is a territory as large as an

empire," said Mr. Wade—"as large as all the free states—pure as nature, and beautiful as the garden of God." The area equalled all the free states, with Virginia added. He began with modest self-deprecation, quite common in really diffident men, but of doubtful taste, and launched upon his theme. Evidently the whole subject lay closely within his mental grasp, and well arranged. He reminded the southern Whigs what it cost their northern friends, under the pressure of a growing public opinion, to maintain the integrity of their common party, to which was mainly due the prosperity of the country, and upon which its dependence to arrest misrule entirely rested. He then turned to the authors of the new measure, received everywhere with indignant surprise, terror and horror. He demanded to know what visitation they had enjoyed; what new light had reached them hidden from the world, as to the effect of the compromise of 1850 upon that of 1820? He went over with the later, showed its constant reference to the older as subsisting, and which its framers with studious care did their best to respect, but which it was now found they had entirely abrogated, in spite of themselves. A hard, well-considered, fixed enactment of congress, solemnly passed, recognized by the nation and world, had been repealed by an *abstract principle*, recently discovered in other legislation. This he unsparingly ridiculed. Douglas explained and restated. Wade reiterated with scorn and contempt.

It was said that in adjusting bound-

aries, New Mexico, a territory, under the protection of the act of 1820, had been slightly cut into, and thereupon it is now proclaimed that the act was repealed as to the whole, notwithstanding the declaration of the New Mexican act that it did no such thing. Two owners of adjoining land re-run their line. It is found that A has by this received an inconsiderable slip of B's domain, and thereupon A claims that both parties have recognized a principle which has abrogated, repealed, B's title to the whole, and all A has to do is to take possession of the whole of it. He showed the effect upon the northern immigration of the presence of slavery in any region. No northern man, no foreign born, migrated to a slave state. A freeman would not make his home in the tainted region of slave quarters. No freeman would labor by the side of one degraded by being the mere chattel of another. The work of a slave was servile, because done by a slave. No free man would share in it.

He was severe on Dixon, a pupil and the successor of the great Clay, whose last work he was impiously rending. While going on, Dixon and Butler of South Carolina were noisily talking, after the fashion of the south. Butler said Wade believed in the declaration of July 4, which made the slave his equal, and why should not equals work side by side? Wade caught it up with a flash. Dixon wished to know if he might ask him a question. He replied that he would cheerfully permit him and his associate (Butler) to ask him any question. Dixon wanted to know if he be-

lieved the slave was the equal of a free man. Wade told him he believed he was the born equal of any man. "By the law of God Almighty your slave is your equal, and so you will find out at the day of judgment, though probably not before, at your rate of progress," was his reply.

This brought up slavery directly, and he rapidly sketched its effects on a people and country, which he illustrated by a graphic drawing of Virginia, and it was proposed to thus Africanize the whole of the new great territory, after the Virginian pattern. He warned all parties north and south, that this would never be submitted to. He thought all compromises were mistakes; wiser men thought differently, and made them. He acquiesced in them. With this instance of *punic faith*, there never would be another, there never should be another. This ruthless disregard of the compromise of 1820 left that of 1850 open to assault. Let the slave holders beware.

He began without formal opening and finished with no prepared phrases. He was strong, brave, impressive, and listened to with profound attention.

The speech, as a whole, was one of the best specimens of the strong, plain, direct, vigorous putting of things by the clear, hard-headed, honest intellect of the New England type, to be found in the records of congress, and did much to strengthen Mr. Wade in the senate and through the country. It admonished men to beware of a close, hard struggle, where fibrous pluck, hard muscle and manhood would tell.

The debate ran on, all the senators took a voice in it, and on the morning of fourth of March, as the gray outer light mingled with the lights of the senate chamber, the vote was taken. Houston of Texas closed the debate with a strong speech against the bill. It passed—thirty-seven for to fourteen against it, and salvos of cannon, as on the passage of the ten million Texas bill in the house, advertised the still sleeping city of the deed. Pierce of Maryland, even Clayton, who had voted for the Wilmot proviso, voted for it. John Bell stood with Houston against it. It was carried through the corridors across the rotunda to the house, where after nearly three months of stormy debates, the cannon again announced its passage. One hundred and fourteen voted for, and one hundred against it. Forty-four northern Democrats voted against it; no northern Whig voted for it. Seven southern Whigs voted against it, and three southern Democrats, Houston, Thomas Hart Benton,* and John S. Millson of Virginia.†

George E. Badger of North Carolina was an able man, a facile speaker, and, like many such men, took much oral exercise standing. In the Nebraska debate he made a pathetic, moving appeal to the opponents of the bill—personal really. He described himself as wishing to emigrate to the new territory,

and to carry his old colored *mamma* with him—the woman who had nursed him in infancy and childhood, and whom he loved as a real mother—and he could not take her. The enemies of this benevolent measure forbade him. “We are willing you should take the old lady there—” interrupted Wade, “we are afraid you’ll sell her when you get her there.” It settled the tender senator, followed as it was by a universal roar of laughter. He made an ineffective effort to recover, and closed most abruptly. It was one of those stinging things that reduce an issue to a killing point, that preclude reply, escape or farther argument.‡

The session ran on till August 7, when the misrulers returned to meet their still amazed and indignant constituencies.

I have now with much breadth traced my Feeding Hills boy to a prominent, soon to be a leading, position in the senate, where his history is part of the history of his time. I have also rapidly sketched the rise and progress of the great struggles against slavery, to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, when its history becomes the history of the country. My theme must now be subjected to a more rapid treatment, a more condensed grouping of events and men.

I trust one more chapter will carry us to the war; and two, at the most three, will carry us through the rebellion to the end of our labors.

A. G. RIDDLE.

* Colonel Benton passed from public life with that congress. He devoted his remaining years to his work—“Thirty Years in the Senate,” and died at Washington, April 10, 1858, at seventy-six.

† John S. Millson was re-elected to the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-six congresses, was steadily devoted to the Union, and died at Norfolk, his native city, February 26, 1873.

‡ The late Judge Jerry Black alway spoke of this as the most effective single blow ever dealt a man, a cause or an argument, in the history of congress. It was rare, he said, that the conditions for such a reply could exist, and rarer still that a man was present equal to making it. To fully appreciate it requires a study of the whole field and an apprehension of all the factors involved.

ART AND ARTISTS IN OHIO.

II.

T. BUCHANAN READ, poet and painter, a native of Ohio, born in 1822, commenced his labors in the field of art while yet a boy on a farm. Early in the fifties he went to Italy, and returned to Cincinnati about 1860. His well-known literary ability had given him a prestige that brought his work of the studio into immediate favor and renown. Orders for portraits were many, yet he found time to paint a good number of pictures. Those subjects selected from mythology or ancient story, were to him most pleasing and congenial. His works are full of most pleasing color, exquisite grace and charming sentiment. In 1866 he went again to Rome. On his way back to Cincinnati, he died, in New York a few years ago.

Carl Niehaus was born in Cincinnati the twenty-fourth of January, 1855. Receiving a common school education in his native city, he began as a wood engraver and then as a stone cutter and carver in marble. He studied drawing in the night class of the McMicken School of Design for two years. Desiring further instruction, he left for Munich on the fifth of April, 1877, arriving there in June. He entered the Academy of Fine Arts there, receiving instruction from Prof. Knabal, sculptor, and Gabel, painter. He received the highest prize, a large medal, for the ex-

ecution and original design of a life-size group of four figures on a globe, called "Fleeting Time;" he also received two other competition prizes, one for a design for a fountain and the other for a sketch of David. He left the Academy of Fine Arts in 1880. Traveled through Italy, France and England, and modeled numbers of busts for English gentlemen. He returned to America in 1881, and received the Garfield statue for the Capitol at Washington, and the Garfield for Cincinnati, Ohio (both of which were executed in Rome), the latter to be probably placed in Garfield Place, at the intersection of Race and Eighth streets. He has the contract from the State of Ohio for the statue of Governor Allen, to be placed in the Capitol at Washington.

Miss Marion Foster is an Ohio artist, born in Minerva, Ohio, who has gained undoubted success in New York. By reason of an accident when six or seven years of age, Miss Foster became paralyzed so as to be unable to use her lower limbs. About the same time, her father lost all his property. This crippled, but indomitable girl, has since supported herself and her family by her art. She began to work in crayon at eight. Early taking lessons and painting in Cincinnati, she made friends who enabled her to go to New York for

medical treatment. Dr. Lewis Sayre, the famous specialist, has for seven years treated her without accepting a dollar, although his charges are from one thousand to three thousand dollars for a single case.

Although the wealthiest classes in the city have given Miss Foster their patronage, her success is due to her own talents and her marvellous energy. In black and white she has no superior, although Reichman and others are better known. She has executed admirable portraits of Adelina Patti, Signor Brignoli, Emma Nevada, Mr. Flood of San Francisco, and his daughter; Miss Mary Anderson and many others. Among many valuable gifts Miss Marion Foster has received, is a beautiful gold locket with a more beautiful letter from Adelina Patti. Her portrait of "Chang," the great Chinese giant, was greatly admired, and has been sent to China.

Miss Foster, although a hopeless invalid and great sufferer, is the most cheerful person I have ever known, and is the most remarkable mass of human patience and energy on the continent.

Mr. Henry Mosler, a native of Cincinnati and for three years in the studio of J. H. Beard in Cincinnati, has just returned from Europe, where he has been for about ten years. He has achieved quite a reputation as an artist. Forty of his paintings sold recently in Cincinnati; some were sold as high as four thousand dollars. Mr. Mosler is now about forty years of age. He first painted portraits almost exclusively. His first composition was called "The

Lost Cause," which was a great success, patriotic and loyal in tone, and showing a real genius for art. When a student, Mr. Beard says, "he was industrious, earnest, conscientious and devoted to his art." He has great business tact, and will no doubt be heard from. He is the only American who has a picture in the Luxembourg gallery in Paris, which is considered a great honor.

Mrs. Caroline S. Brooks, a former Cincinnati, has just finished two busts—Thurlow Weed and William H. Macy in New York—which are highly praised by New Yorkers.

Mr. Edward Foot, a young Cincinnati artist, went abroad a few years ago for study, and has just sent to Cincinnati from Europe some of his paintings in water colors, which are highly commended. He is still in Italy.

Mr. Poole, a young artist of Cincinnati, has several works at Barton's of merit.

Kenyon Cox, a son of Governor Cox of Cincinnati, has spent some time in Europe and is now in New York. His friends are quite sanguine of his success. He has already done some splendid work. He is a superior draughtsman, and is instructor in drawing in the Art Students' League and in the Gotham Art Club of New York. He has done some good work for the Century and is an artist of great possibilities.

I suppose Quincy Ward would be classed as the greatest artist Ohio has produced, Powers second, then Cole, the Beards, H. K. Brown, and after these come Whittridge, and some thirty

or forty others who are equal, if not superior, to any equal number in any other state.

The following is an address delivered before the State Archæological society by the author of this article :

ART AND ARTISTS IN COLUMBUS.

Through the exertions of Mrs. John G. Deshler (who remembered art in Columbus so liberally in her will) and a few others, there was an art gallery association incorporated in Columbus in 1877, of which the late Judge J. R. Swan was president. He was much interested in art, and often said that our art school was a great educator of the people. He gave considerable time and attention to formulating a bill to protect art and other associations, and was instrumental in getting it passed by the legislature. His great reputation as a jurist and his distinguished character as a citizen encouraged those who were struggling amid great discouragement to do something for art in Columbus. Such a life is missed when it goes out of the community, and it may well come as a lesson in useful citizenship. The art school of Columbus began its organization January 6, 1879, with Mrs. Alfred Kelley as president. This school has a course as definite and thorough at any higher institution of learning, and a diploma is given in completing the prescribed course, which cannot be done in less than two years. The course of study, comprising three terms annually, embraces a wide range of instruction in free-hand and mechanical drawing, life sketching, oil and water-color painting, wood carving, china decoration, art needle-work, modeling in clay, hammered brass, designing. The school is provided with a competent corps of teachers and a large collection of casts and models; also an art library of great value, presented by the Ladies Reading club (of which Mrs. James A. Wilcox is president), who supply all works on art needed. These equipments are mainly due to the untiring efforts of the ladies of the art association, of which Mrs. Ezra Bliss has been president for seven years. The art school depends for its support on receipts from regular and honorary memberships, fees, tuition, donations and bequests. Its advantages are open to all who choose to avail themselves of them, and its influence is one of the most refining and beneficial that can permeate our homes, firesides and social circle.

Our city has already produced an enviable amount and quality of art talent. We have a circle of young artists, some of whom have more than a local reputation. The school holds its regular annual exhibition in June, and they cannot fail to develop greatly in popular favor and interest from year to year. The art association was established in October, 1878, and the art school was organized by this association a few months afterward, all due to the persevering efforts of the intelligent ladies of the city. Its doors are open to students of both sexes and all ages. Catalogues and circular of the school are furnished every year, with names of officers and teachers. Original papers of the most interesting and useful description, are given free once a month during the school year. As a proof of the wide influence of the school, the total number of students in the various classes, from the organization of the school in 1876, and these represent forty-three cities and nine states. There are a number of young artists of great promise, who are teachers in the art school. There is an evening school, twice a week, free to all. The school has about one hundred and fifty scholarships.

In July, 1883, a committee was appointed at Saratoga, New York, at the meeting of the art department of the National Educational association, to inquire into the methods of study throughout the country, and report a course of study in drawing for public schools. This committee reported the following year at the meeting at Madison, Wisconsin. Information in answer to questions or printed blanks had been received from sixty-nine cities in twenty different states. Columbus, Ohio, was reported as one of four of these cities that had a fully developed course in all grades; the other three cities were in Massachusetts, and the course of study adopted at the convention was the same as that practiced in Columbus. Very many former pupils in these schools are now using their knowledge thus gained in earning their livelihood. Several have become artists, many art teachers, numbers are in architects' or engineering offices, some are designers, and others are finding use for their knowledge as mechanics.

The Columbus schools were represented at the New Orleans exposition, and a paper of that city, the *Times-Democrat*, spoke as follows regarding it:

"The drawings from Columbus, Ohio, are conceded to be unsurpassed in the exposition. Their logical arrangement has excited general admiration and merited praise."

Professor Goodnough is the efficient teacher in

this department, to whom great credit is due for its success.

The result of a close study of the pupils themselves in the public art schools, far from interfering with the regular school studies, seems to aid them materially. This is the opinion of the teachers in the grammar schools.

That the pupils in the art schools begin to take a greater interest in reading of all kinds, and that in visiting exhibitions or when seeing art work or tasteful manufactures, they criticise what is before them with more ability than grown persons display, who have not been trained to understand designing and application. That the children all regard the art work of the school as being as attractive as any amusement, and as the drawing is not merely copying but original design, they regard it also as agreeable employment. If the bell did not ring to summon them to cease, the pupils would never leave off designing, modeling and wood carving. I wish our school-rooms could be provided with works of art, and also with plants and flowers. The influence of good pictures upon children is wonderful. It is mentioned in the 'Life of President Garfield,' that the wife of a farmer, far in the country, being astonished that her boys, one after another, developed a passion for going to sea; the explanation was given when some one pointed to the picture of a ship at full sail which hung over the chimney-piece of the room with which they were most familiar. Who of us cannot recall some picture which has exercised at some time or another an intense effect upon himself?

William W. Walcutt was a native of Columbus, and a brother of General Walcutt of this city. I remember him well as an artist of promise when I came to Columbus in 1840. He moved to New York and was considered a man of great artistic ability. He was the sculptor of the Perry statue in Cleveland and of many private citizens of New York. He painted and modeled also. He modeled the bronze statue of the late Dr. S. M. Smith, corner of High and Broad streets. He had a brother (Broderick), who moved to Missouri, who was also an artist of promise. Also a brother Charles, who moved to Kentucky, was an artist. All are now dead. An intimate friend of Mr. Walcutt says of him:

Knowing him to be an artist of talent and reputation, it seemed to be a matter of regret that he should be obliged to spend seven hours a day in the discharge of duties in the custom-house, New York, which, for the most part, had no connection with art. But he needed the two thousand dollars or more

salary which he received annually, and never felt able to give up his place. He had a gentle and lovable character, a most genial disposition, and a singularly guileless nature. His integrity was irreproachable. I never saw enough of his works to judge of him as a sculptor and painter. The statue of Dr. S. M. Smith, I did not like in plaster. He worked upon it at a disadvantage, as it was too dark after office hours to do much. The impression he left upon artists in New York with whom I have talked, is that Walcutt had artistic feeling and the true artist temperament, but did not often succeed in giving expression in marble or on canvas to the noble thoughts and conceptions born in him. Under more favorable conditions he might have been a really great artist.

John Henry Witt was born in Dublin, Wayne county, Indiana, near the Ohio border, in 1840. The beautiful face of a little girl at school awakened a love of beauty in him, and he spent much time in drawing profiles of the object of his admiration on his slate and on paper. These first pictures were frequently bought by the school boys and paid for in pins. When quite young he painted wagons and ornamented buggies. William L. Woods, afterwards secretary for many years of the House committee on public lands, a good amateur artist, taught him the tones and relations of colors. He went to Ohio in his eighteenth year. J. O. Eaton painted the strongest portraits and figure pieces of all that he then came in contact with in Cincinnati, and Witt gained much knowledge of art from Eaton. The latter was born in Ohio, and came to Cincinnati a green, awkward country boy. He flourished from about 1858 to 1865. He excelled in portraits of children. In the fall of 1862 Witt settled in Columbus. He painted many portraits for Columbus people and for sitters from Zanesville, and from all parts of central Ohio. His first ambitious picture was 'Rebecca at the Well,' which was warmly commended in the *Ohio State Journal*. It was immediately sold for \$500, and now hangs in the new Odd Fellows' hall. This, Witt often refers to as his first encouragement and start. He went to Washington City in 1873, where he painted landscapes or portraits, or both, for the Swayne, Thurman, Sherman and other families. His portrait of Commissary-General Eaton was especially popular. His portraits of Senator Thurman and Justice Swayne were excellent. Mrs. General Sherman said that she would not exchange Mr. Witt's portrait of her mother for any picture in her house. His portrait of Charles Sumner, painted in Sumner's own house, and sold to George Alfred Townsend, is the closest likeness of Sumner existing, but is not especially liked by Sumner's friends be-

cause it does not flatter him. Witt was made a member of the Literary club of Washington, of which Garfield was subsequently a member and president. Witt came to New York in 1878, where he has had a steadily growing success. He has exhibited pictures of undeniable merit in every exhibition of the academy, and has recently been made an associate member of the academy. For some years his genre pictures were all shipped to Chicago and sold there by a single firm. He is now getting from five hundred to fifteen hundred dollars for portraits and still larger prices for other pictures. A recent one called "Canoeing," which represents two beautiful ladies in a birch canoe upon a vast and placid expanse of water, is greatly admired by the artists as an example of the best modern art. Witt thinks that the coming artists will excel in technique, that contemporary French artists surpass the Italian masters in technical execution, and so the younger American painters are excelling the older ones in drawing and in all that relates to the manual or technical part of art. "Writing to Santa Claus," and the "Widow's Christmas" are two other recent pictures by Witt that have attracted much attention.

Frank Miller has done strong work, and gives great promise. Phil Clover is full of poetical and artistic conceptions, and at times superior in execution. Silas Martin is persevering, certain, careful and conservative, and is making sure progress toward greater and honorable success. Edward Witt is a strong original figure painter, and promises to become as strong as his brother. All are well known in Columbus as students of Mr. Witt and of his school.

Thomas D. Jones, sculptor, was born in the Welsh hills, near Granville, and died in Columbus. He executed not only the admirable busts of Ewing and Chase, but busts of Clay, Crittenden, Corwin, Taylor, Reverdy Johnson and other men of distinction. He was a genial, courtly gentleman of the old school, who lacked the money-getting instinct. He seemed always in rather straitened circumstances, but his rare familiarity with Shakespeare, and his knowledge of distinguished men, made him socially delightful. He said of all the great men he had intimately known, Tom Corwin was the greatest, and that his genius and incomparable greatness inspired him with awe; that Clay was always on stilts. Ward commends highly Jones' busts of Ewing and Chase.

A friend says: "Tom Jones, sculptor, was among the notables of our art fraternity in the fifties. A

man of positive talent, but showed in his work the lack of early training and art education. He was entirely original, had a great love and admiration for the heroic and classic in art. In looks, dress and action always dramatic. The long hair and piercing eyes, overshadowed by the famous brigand hat, the old Roman toga dramatically thrown over the left shoulder, will ever be kindly remembered by those who had the pleasure and honor of Thomas Jones' acquaintance or friendship. His best works are the busts of Lincoln, Chase and Ewing. He died in Columbus, Ohio, a few years ago."

J. J. Barber was born in Sandusky, and is about forty-two years of age, and as an artist is entirely self-taught. About fifteen years ago he came to Columbus and opened a studio at his home. At first he devoted himself entirely to landscape painting, and his efforts proved quite successful. Some of his pictures of scenes in the Muskingum valley, painted some years ago, are certainly beautiful gems of landscape painting. A few years ago he began to give some attention to cattle painting, and so well has he worked this special line of art that to-day he is recognized as one of the finest and cleverest cattle-painters in America. His cattle pictures have been honored and recognized for their true merit and beauty in nearly all the great art exhibitions of the east, west and south. Mr. Barber is a painstaking artist, and his pictures have been complimented highly by artists and sculptors who have seen them. Considering his opportunities, he certainly deserves great credit. If he only had opportunities of study in some of the art centres of Europe, he would no doubt have a wide reputation as a cattle painter. His circumstances are such that he is obliged to work out his own genius without any aid. He shows great study; his cattle are certainly superb, and the landscapes splendid. We certainly have never seen better cattle pieces by modern artists in any of the galleries of Europe.

Silas Martin is a native of Columbus, and is about forty-four years old. He has devoted his attention to art some twenty years, and has won considerable reputation as a portrait painter. He is very good at fruit painting, and some of his small landscapes are quite clever, but his reputation as an artist rests chiefly as a portrait painter, and as such he stands above any other artist in the city. He is plodding, careful and conservative, and ought to make sure progress toward an honorable success.

Phil Clover was born in this county, and is now about forty years of age. He turned his attention

to art in 1870, and in 1879 he went to Paris and studied under Durand, the noted French painter. In 1882 he returned to this city and since then he has devoted his attention altogether to figure and portrait painting. He is a hard worker, and some of his figure pieces have attracted considerable favorable comment among art critics.

Charles E. Cookman, a former teacher in the art school, is the youngest, and undoubtedly one of the cleverest, of Columbus artists. He is a native of this city, where he resided until a few years ago, when he was called to New York to accept a professor's chair in the Osgood Art Institute. Mr. Cookman was displaying considerable skill as a landscape painter, but his fame as an artist is better known by his clever figure-pieces in water colors. He has earned for himself a national reputation, and has the satisfaction of finding a ready sale for his work in the great art centres of the country.

Ellis F. Miller was born in Columbus in 1840 and died in 1884. He was one of the most promising young artists in the state, and if he had lived would have no doubt achieved a high reputation. Mr E. O. Randall of this city, in a highly eulogistic article on Mr. Miller, says: "His pictures have always a quality some one has spoken of as a 'humility before nature.' There is an utter absence of pretension or presumption—never a stroke or shade that betrays 'effect.' His powers are always subordinated humbly and devoutly to the truth. This is one of the charms of his pictures. You realize that they are honestly natural. Mr. Miller was more than a water-colorist. His restless abilities drove his deft hand to every variety of work. Oil, sepia, crayon, charcoal, and in his moods of play and prank—for he had those in the freedom of seclusion—he would deal with the humorous and grotesque. He could have been one of the chiefs of caricature. In his portfolios we have seen penciled imaginings that would be creditable to Craikshank and ideas weird and wild as Dore's. Although his work seemed wrought with such painstaking care, he nevertheless worked with incredible rapidity. Some of his most pleasing pieces were drawn and colored in an afternoon—many minor sketches in portions of an hour. As an etcher he was eminently successful, and was becoming recognized as such in all art centres. In this work he gives us another taste of his quality. The same freedom of feeling, delicacy of touch and clearness of idea mark this department. Mr. Miller was a true and truthful artist. His art has the simplicity and purity of his own unblemished

character. The tenderness and truth of the character of the man was the main secret of the success of the artist. His life, short as it was, taught its lesson and left its impress that shall influence all who shall know the man through the sweet spirit of the artist's works."

Miss Josephine Klippart, daughter of Hon. J. H. Klippart, ex-secretary of the state board of agriculture, is the author of a number of valuable works. She is a native of Columbus. She commenced drawing at six years of age, and water-coloring between ten and twelve years. She spent some time in Europe, and her handling was materially broadened, although she did not adopt the French school. She devotes herself to landscape, flower and figure subjects. Her works have met with ready sale in Philadelphia and Chicago, and at the Cincinnati exposition they received honorable mention. The work by which she will longest be remembered, and on which she spent six years on the first edition, and is now at work with her mother on the second edition, is "The Nests and Eggs of the Birds of Ohio," published and edited by Mrs. N. E. Jones, Circleville, intended to be a companion of "Audubon's Birds of America." The actual nests were collected, probably six, or eight of a kind, and the most characteristic selected as a model. She colors the plates by hand, with Mrs. Jones and another lady, from the original nest. There are three colored plates in each part, and about four parts a year are issued. She has also been engaged in making the drawings on wood for engravings of the fish of Ohio, from the actual fish. The illustrations were first issued in the "Ohio Fish Commissioner's Reports," afterwards the state of Pennsylvania asked the privilege of using the drawings in their reports, and since then many other books have used the cuts. This part of her art work was in the interest of science and will live.

J. H. Mosure came to Columbus in 1864 at the age of ten years, worked with his father frescoing, later in his architectural office, but spent most of his time drawing pictures, and his father placed him under the care of a special artist for one year, and he was quite successful in disposing of his paintings; and under the instruction of J. H. Witt, studied from nature. From here he went to Toledo

and Galveston, Texas, and worked for Harper's and Leslie's illustrated papers. Exhibited regularly in the New York academy with headquarters at Atlanta, Georgia; made there illustrations of the book, 'Uncle Remus' for D. Appleton Company. One of his most meritorious works was a painting 12x20 feet, allegorical, representing the New South welcoming the nations, for the Atlanta cotton exhibition. *Harper's Weekly* say of it: "A fine painting entitled 'The New South,' by Mosure was unveiled and was greeted with warm admiration by the audience." He is a member of the American art union, elected in 1884. He has returned to his old home in Columbus and has a studio here. He has on exhibition some of his negro studies, which certainly excel anything we have ever seen. I bought one called "Uncle Remus," which shows his wonderful power as a delineator of negro character.

When in Rome we went into the studio of C. C. Griswold, and were so delighted with his pictures that we bought one called "Claudes-Tower and the Roman Campagna." The tower is so called because the tower in Claude Lorraine's celebrated picture "Il Mulias," in the Doria gallery, is supposed to be painted from it. In the background is Monte Gennaro above Tivoli, with the village of Monticello in the distance. The effect is that of the last moments of sunset as you stand looking towards the east. Mr. E. F. Andrews thinks "it indicates a painstaking artist who studies his works."

Mr. Griswold was a native of Dela-

ware, Ohio, where he was born in 1834. His father, Ezra Griswold, edited a paper at Worthington, one of the first papers published in the state, and edited and published the first newspaper ever printed in Columbus. He has a brother who is editor of the Lancaster, Ohio, *Gazette*. One of the brothers, Victor, was a promising artist, and all his five brothers showed artistic talent. He went to Cincinnati to learn wood engraving. He received all his instruction from his elder artist brother referred to above. He went to New York, and after various vicissitudes and discouragements determined to become a painter. He gathered what knowledge of art he possessed in his own way, by observation and study of nature and of pictures, until he went to Europe to get the best instruction possible. He painted a number of pictures which were considered of decided ability, showing genius and great artistic skill. "Simple, truthful and tender in feeling, the works of this artist have grown in public estimation and artistic promise." He has been in Rome about fifteen years, and we are told that he stands high as a painter and his paintings find ready sale.

CLEVELAND.

There was established in Cleveland the Western Reserve School of Design for women, October 2, 1862, by Mrs. Harriet J. Kester, with but one student, in a small studio of Mrs. S. M. Kimball, the projector of the enterprise. On the thirteenth of November, 1882, the school was incorporated, and the officers took charge of the institution.

Mrs. Mary Scranton Bradford is the president. Means will be provided for women and boys who are not able to meet the expense of a thorough industrial art education, under certain conditions. In October, 1884, there were fifty-five pupils; in February, 1885, fifty-nine names were enrolled. A course of lectures on history and art is provided. The expenses are provided for by subscription.

"The curriculum of the Western Reserve School of Design for Women includes design, ornamentation and its analysis; technical design, as applied to various industrial purposes; mechanical drawing and architecture; botanical analysis; wood-carving and lithography; also etching, wood-engraving, modeling, glass painting, china decoration, art needlework, flowers from nature, and landscape painting from nature. The course of study is divided into eight stages: First, natural and conventional forms of fruits and flowers from the cast; second, ornamentation from the cast; third, vase forms and geometrical solids from the cast; fourth, detail of figure from the cast; fifth, features—ears, eyes, nose and mouth from the cast; sixth, antique busts; seventh, statues; eighth, portraiture."

With the exception of the Women's School of Design, there does not seem to have been anything done by the people in a collective capacity for art. The late Mr. Hurlbut left to his wife, in trust for the city of Cleveland, the house and grounds of the family on Euclid avenue and their private gallery of pictures, in which are some very fine

examples of modern art. This donation will form the nucleus of a public art gallery, to be controlled and managed by a board of trustees, provided the city does certain things which are conditioned precedent; and it is to be hoped that the citizens will feel public-spirited enough to foster it by the purchase, from time to time, of good pictures and statuary. Cleveland has had, and still has, some good artists. Among them, standing, as he did and still does, a pioneer in art, "in times which tried men's souls," was Allen Smith, jr., who came to Cleveland over forty years ago, when about thirty-five years of age, with a reputation which was already fine among the older men of the east. He was an "Academician," which was once a greater honor than it is to-day. His work still holds its own.

Jarvis F. Hanks was well worthy of the time and place in which he lived. James H. Beard first took lessons in painting of Hanks, at fifty cents a lesson. These two men struggled along working out their own genius, without any of the advantages for study such as the aspirant of to-day can command. They accomplished much towards creating a love for and appreciation of art in this, which was then "quite a backwoods settlement." One of his friends says the coming of Allen Smith to Cleveland was a virtual exile; it was simply throwing away his best chances for knowledge, fame and fortune. He has now retired to a quiet spot in Lake county, where, with his family, he enjoys his declining years at the age of seventy-eight or eighty years.

Among the most studious and promising younger artists, who are sure to merit success, may be mentioned, Rufus May Smith, (who paints landscapes and marine pictures—the latter superior to any we have seen in the west), and a Mr. Willard, who were both born in Bedford, Cuyahoga county. Also Mr. Scott Evans, whose reputation is for a peculiar *genre* picture in which the rendering of fine drapery is a great essential. He is a frequent exhibiter at the Academy in New York. Mr. Otis Bacher, now in Paris, was born in Cleveland. Another, Sion Wenbau, who is quite well and favorably known as an etcher. Mr. John Kavanaugh, who has studied abroad, bids fair to make a good figure and portrait painter. Mr. Edward Pixotto, who has spent most of his life in Paris, is said to be a good portrait painter.

One says, "We have in Cleveland first-class material for the development of art feeling, etc., but there never has been any concerted action on the part of the citizens to do with us and by us what other cities of less wealth and smaller have done with their art materials. In a public way we are far behind such cities as Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago, Milwaukee, Columbus, etc. Individually, we are moderately well patronized, but that is all that can be said. Cleveland puts most of its art on the outside of the houses and in horse flesh."

Rufus Wright was born in Cleveland in 1832. He painted portraits of Chief Justice Taney, Secretary Stanton, Seward and others. He turned his atten-

tion, in 1875, to composition pictures. Many of his paintings show thought and high artistic genius. We believe Mr. Wright now resides in Ohio.

Miss Caroline L. Ransom of Cleveland exhibited her portrait of General George H. Thomas, which we saw in the rotunda of the capitol in Washington. General Garfield and others tried to have the government purchase it for ten thousand dollars, but they were not successful. Miss Ransom is an industrious and painstaking artist, and deserves great credit for her perseverance, notwithstanding the criticisms she has received from the artists.

Miss Ransom painted from life a portrait of Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, in 1859, which was purchased by congress, and hangs in the room of the old house of representatives. This was the first work of art by a woman purchased by this government. Also a head and bust portrait of Senator B. F. Wade; a portrait of Dr. J. P. Kirtland, owned by his daughter, Mrs. Pease of Cleveland; a portrait of Governor John Brough, in 1863, which was purchased by Mr. Witt of Cleveland and presented to Edwin M. Stanton. Also portraits of Governors, J. D. Cox and Worthington, in the rotunda of the state house at Columbus. Portraits of ex-Lieutenant-governors Lee and Hart, in the senate chamber, Columbus. Portrait of President Garfield, in major-general uniform, for Mrs. Garfield, for which she paid twenty-five hundred dollars. Portraits of Salmon P. Chase, Alexander Hamilton, General John A. Dix, in the treasury building, Washington. Portraits of General Mc-

Pherson and many citizens of Cleveland. She is now engaged on portraits of General Grant, from studies taken in 1876, and of General Garfield, from studies taken in 1864. Miss Ransom may well be called a pioneer artist of Ohio. She was born in Newark, Licking county, Ohio, but is a resident of Cleveland. Washington city is her winter home.

DAYTON.

In 1880 the art-loving ladies of Dayton organized an art society; Mrs. O. M. Gottschall was president. Besides the excellent lady teachers, Miss Rogers and Miss Forer, they secured the services of Professor Browne of New Jersey, a man of rare versatility as a teacher, both as an original artist and critic. They secured an eligible old-fashioned residence with large grounds, and the Decorative Art society provided the necessary appliances and material, and they succeeded most admirably in their work. They had large classes in water colors, oil, in clay modeling, china painting, and other forms of decorative art. Professor Browne, after three years of excellent service, was induced to return east. But the ladies of Dayton were not disheartened, but during the six years of the society's existence, there has always been a well-directed enthusiasm of the president, Miss Carrie Brown. Several of the ladies have private enamel kilns at their houses, and are very successful in firing them. Dayton has had a number of prominent artists, among them were:

Mr. E. Edmonson, born in Dayton of Quaker parentage. He was one of

the most promising artists. Was self-taught and of a very retiring disposition. He first attracted attention by his extremely faithful studies in still life. His first vegetable and game pieces were in such demand as soon to enable him to treble his prices. He painted honestly, not to catch a customer. In later years he turned his attention to portrait painting, and succeeded admirably. One of his best portraits is of Garfield, which hangs in the Odd Fellows' hall in Dayton. He went to California for his health and died there.

Mr. Charles Soule was born in Maine in 1809, and came to Ohio when a child. It was his delight to get a pencil and paper or slate and draw whatever was about him. He came to Dayton when nineteen years of age. He first painted carriages and signs, but was induced to turn his attention to portrait painting, and his success was so great that orders came to him from prominent citizens of Cincinnati and from the west. He went to New York in 1856, and returned to Cleveland, and died in Dayton, March 30, 1869. His portraits will always be admired for their distinguishing excellence. He was widely known in the west and south, and his associates in his profession universally acknowledged his power, amounting to genius.

TOLEDO.

The Toledo Manual Training school was established in 1884, and a large building was erected in 1885. The school owes its existence to a bequest made by the late Jesup W. Scott, for the

promotion of industrial education in connection with the public school system. Its course occupies three years, and comprises free-hand drawing, designing, moulding, wood carving, etc. Professor Adams, an instructor, says the work of this school compels the student, whether bright or dull, to give careful thought to every step he takes. Guess work or hurried work will not make a perfect joint, nor a perfect square, nor will it make the lines of a drawing sustain to one another their proper relation.

The Toledo Art school has a membership of over one hundred. The antique class has thirty members. The life class, which meets every Wednesday evening, has an average attendance of forty. Their exhibitions are held semi-annually at their room, and are well patronized. This association was founded in February, 1885, and is gradually growing and enlarging.

Miss Louise Overmiller, a pupil of Lietzenmyer and Frans Lenbach, studied in Munich and in Paris a number of years, and in Italy. Exhibited in the Paris salon; makes a specialty of composition and figures. Born in Tiffin, Ohio; resides in Toledo.

William Whitlock was born in Ithaca, New York. He studied in Munich in 1865; Antwerp in 1866 to 1871, at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. He is located in Toledo.

Mr. Robert Wickenden came to Toledo when twelve years of age; showed a good deal of artistic skill when young, and went to New York in 1881 and entered the Art Student's League; went to Paris in 1883; returned to this coun-

try last fall, and is now located in New York. Exhibited in salon in Paris, and in the Dudley gallery, London, and is now exhibiting in the water-color exhibition in New York.

Mr. L. E. Vangorder of Toledo, graduate of the Academy of Design, New York, ranks well as landscape and *genre* painter. He is now located in New York.

STEUBENVILLE.

Wilson McDonald, the sculptor, was born in Steubenville, Ohio, a few doors from the house in which Edwin M. Stanton was born. The first art he ever saw, was a picture on a silk flag or banner, in the primitive studio of Mr. William Walcutt of Columbus. This was in 1839 or 1840. Mr. McDonald is a very intelligent gentleman, and has studied and lectured upon the pyramids, the mounds of this country, and other interesting subjects. He presented, through the North American Review, a plan for a Grant monument, to cost two millions of dollars. A friend says, "He seems to aim at universal knowledge, and does not concentrate his powers sufficiently on his art." Among his works are a statue of Fitz Green Halleck, in Central Park, and a statue of General Custer at West Point.

We would like to claim Mr. E. F. Andrews as a Columbus artist. He was born in Steubenville, Ohio, in 1838, and was a son of the late Dr. Andrews of Columbus. We heard him highly spoken of by artists in Paris in 1878, as one who was sure to reach a high position in his profession. He resides in Wash-

ington City. We were delighted with his portrait of Martha Washington, which is in the white house, at Washington. The body draperies and accessories are of his own composition, and the whole effect is artistic and shows rare knowledge and refinement. His portraits of Governor Foster and of Governor Hoadly, which hang in the rotunda of the state house, are among the best there which he has just finished. The latter, especially, is an excellent portrait and a work which is much admired by artists. His portraits of Presidents Jefferson and Hayes, and of Mrs. Hayes, in the White House at Washington, are much admired.

SPRINGFIELD.

There were three or four brothers by the name of Frankenstein who lived in Springfield, Ohio, who painted and exhibited a panorama of Niagara Falls, which we remember to have seen in Columbus, which was received with great favor, and many predicted that they would become distinguished artists. "The coloring of Niagara by the Frankensteins was better than Church's, and it was a bolder and stronger picture, though less elaborate and finished.

John Frankenstein was looked upon as a prodigy in piano playing. He drew in pencil, pen and ink, and painted in oil from earliest youth. He used to hire old men with marked heads and faces to sit for him while he painted their portraits.

He began modeling in clay very early. He attended the Ohio Medical college,

Cincinnati, and made himself a thorough anatomist.

Aside from his father's example, John Frankenstein never studied with anyone, being himself the master, and he loaned his studio, his aid and his encouragement to all beginners in art that applied to him.

At about sixteen or eighteen he went to Philadelphia and painted many portraits. There, too, several suffering artists made his studio their refuge; among them Joseph Kyle.

Near the same time he went to New York, and became intimate in the family of Governor William H. Seward, who appointed him aide-de-camp on his staff, with the rank of colonel. He made a bust of Mrs Seward, which is at Auburn.

His teacher, instructor, inspirer, was nature, which he studied with unremitting zeal. When about twenty-five years of age he returned to Cincinnati from the east, and in his twenty-seventh year he painted two Scriptural paintings; the first embracing seven or more figures, with Christ the central one. He called it "Christ Mocked in the Pretorium." Thousands upon thousands of people flocked to his studio in Foote's Row to see it. Charles Anderson, a man who had traveled, and of more than ordinary culture, wrote glowing articles about this work. This was followed by another, which he called "Isaiah and the Infant Saviour," bringing the two youths together. These works were bought by a famous art connoisseur in Canada. Many other por-

traits, busts, figure pieces, landscapes, etc., followed.

About 1854 he modeled the figure of a reclining boy with his head on a pillow. He modeled a head of Judge McClean, in 1856 or 1857. Not far from this time he painted a large picture of Niagara, entitled "Niagara, The Love of the Gods."

Godfrey N. and John Frankenstein established the first academy of fine arts in Cincinnati, in 1835, or 1836 perhaps. They had brought from Europe (for the benefit of the pupils of the academy) casts from the antique, embracing many of the finest works. This was at their own expense, with aid of such subscriptions as they could raise. He was the first man that ever painted any views of Niagara Falls on the spot, sometime in 1839 or 1840, I believe. During his boyhood he painted many portraits, etc.; in Canada—Toronto, Montreal, Quebec. At the latter place he sketched the Falls of Montmorency.

He painted portraits of John Quincy Adams, Charles Francis Adams, Abbott Lawrence, and many other distinguished men. Also several portraits of William Cullen Bryant, probably one of the first ever painted of the poet.

Having already spent ten or twelve years at the Falls of Niagara, and painted many pictures on a small scale, he carried out his long-intended design of putting the views in a panoramic form, and this was done in 1851-2, and on the eighteenth of July, 1853, the exhibition was opened at Hope Chapel,

New York, No. 718 Broadway, (which was then occupied as a Sunday meeting place by Adams' Presbyterian church. He left the finest collection of views of Niagara, in oil, in the world. Jenny Lind spent several weeks at the Falls, the summer following her first concert tour, and bought a number of paintings from him.

Godfrey Frankenstein went to Europe for the first time in 1867, and painted many views of the Alps, Lake Geneva, etc.

Eliza Frankenstein, the sister, is a fine landscape painter; she now lives in Springfield, Ohio. She painted in the White mountains and at Niagara.

Gustavus Frankenstein, in 1866-7, made many studies in oil in the mountains of Wales, the first series of studies of the glowing heather.

Mr. J. W. Bookwalter writes me :

During the existence of Mr. Warder's gallery and my own, there was some art spirit developed in Springfield, and several artistically inclined students were inspired to attempt the study and practice of painting, and went to Europe to complete their education, and have returned here enjoying, I believe, much reputation as painters. The terrific duty on works of foreign art, together with the heavy tax thereafter, makes the collection and holding of a gallery of paintings too expensive a luxury. I have directed that all my paintings be sold, which was done at Chickering Hall, New York, on the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of February.

I should like to see some steps taken to give an impetus to art in our country, and that can, in my opinion, be best done by encouraging the accumulation of the best examples of all countries, and thereby familiarizing our people with what is really meritorious. It is this encouragement that has developed art in France, Germany and other continental countries.

FRANCIS C. SESSIONS.

ALVAR NUNEZ CABEZA DE VACA,

THE FIRST OVERLAND TRAVELER OF EUROPEAN DESCENT, AND HIS JOURNEY FROM
FLORIDA TO THE PACIFIC COAST—1528-1536.

A BIOGRAPHY of Cabeza de Vaca is easily condensed into a few paragraphs. I have been unable to find the year of his birth, and equally unsuccessful in tracing the date of his demise. The latter, however, took place after 1565, and possibly at Sevilla in Spain.* The original name of his family was Alhaja, but was changed to Cabeza de Vaca in 1212, A. D. The family belonged to the Andalusian nobility (conferred upon them after the battle of las Navas de Tolosa—twelfth of June, 1212), and lived at Xerez.† He went to the Indies as treasurer and alguazil major of the

expedition of Pamfilo de Narvaez, of which ill-fated body he, two other Spaniards and a negro were sole survivors. With these associates, he performed the almost incredible feat of crossing from Florida to the state of Sonora in Mexico. After his return to Spain in 1537, he was made governor of Paraguay, or rather Adelantado (commander of an expedition for conquest and settlement), and remained in South America until 1544, when he was arrested and brought to Spain as a prisoner. Thereafter Cabeza de Vaca disappears from history; it is impossible to determine whether his arrest and imprisonment were just or not.

That remarkable overland trip, executed on foot and under the most distressing circumstances, forms the subject of this sketch. Cabeza de Vaca is commonly credited with having discovered New Mexico, but this is an error, though a widely circulated one.

The sad tale of Narvaez' disasters has often been told. Misfortunes befell him from the day he left San Lucar de Barrameda in Spain (17-29 June 1527).‡ They culminated in the destruction of his fleet, in his own death, in the gradual extermination of his men, except

*The date of 1565, A. D., results from his dedication of *comentarios* to Don Carlos of Spain, in which Alvar Nunez says: "Thirty-seven years have elapsed since that long and perilous expedition to Florida." Reckoning from the year when that expedition was destroyed (1528), this would bring his death to after 1565, and if we depart from 1536, date of his arrival in Sinaloa, it would even carry it beyond 1573.

† For these and all other biographical details concerning Cabeza de Vaca, I refer in order to cut short an otherwise long biographical list, to the following works. *Voyages, Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*, by H. Ternaux Compans, Paris, 1837. *Commentaires d'Alvar Núñez de Vaca*. (Preface), pp. 1 to 4).—(Enrique de Vedia *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, Vol. I, 1852. Preliminares pp. 18, 21.

‡ This date is so frequently mentioned that it needs no special references.

four, Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado of Salamanca, Andrés Dorantes of Béjar, and Estévanico, an Arabian negro of Azamor. These four men, after six years of separation, met on the coast of eastern Texas.* They had been prisoners of various roving tribes, by whom they had been dragged hither and thither, sometimes inland, sometimes along the coast. Their captors rarely showed any consideration; on the contrary, they ill-treated the wretched Spaniards until Cabeza de Vaca, having observed the methods employed by Indians for healing and curing, and urged by the same Indians to become a medicine-man, began to apply his scanty knowledge of medicine and surgery with considerable success. He also became a peddler, penetrating into the interior and along the coast as far as one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles, exchanging shells and shell-beads for skins, red earth, flint flakes and other products of northern countries. He reached the vicinity of Red river, south of Shreveport, but always returned to the coast again in hopes of meeting some companions of misfortune.†

When the four unfortunates at last came together, they were naked like

* The term of five years is established by Cabeza de Vaca 'Naufragios,' Chap. xvi, (in Vedia, I, p. 529). *Fuéron casi seis años el tiempo gueyo estuve en esta tierra solo entre ellos y desnudo.* Oviedo 'Historia general y natural de Indias,' (edition of 1853, Vol. III, Lib. xxxv, Chap. iv. p. 601). *Vino Cabeza de Vaca a se juntar con essotros, que avia cinco años que lo avian dexado atrás.*

† 'Naufragios,' (Vedia I, p. 529.)

their Indian masters, their bodies were emaciated, bruised and torn. But they had acquired a great store of practical knowledge about the country and its inhabitants, and the practice of medicine seemed—for one of them at least—unusual prestige among the natives. Communicating to each other what they had seen and learned, they reached the conclusion that, in order to extricate themselves from their forlorn condition, it was best to improve the hold which success in healing and curing furnished, and thus induce the Indians to gradually lead them where people of their own race might be met with. To the stormy waters of the Gulf, which had swallowed their ships as well as the frail boats and rafts hastily constructed on the coast of Florida, they did not dare to entrust themselves. Besides, the Indians would not have suffered them to escape in that direction. Their only hope, therefore, lay in the west. They knew that expeditions from Mexico reached the Rio Panuco and the Pacific coast. By shifting slowly from one Indian tribe to another, always proceeding in a westerly direction as much as possible, countries might at last be reached into which other Spaniards penetrated, or whose inhabitants had knowledge of Spanish settlements.

In the course of ten months‡ this adventurous plan was carried out, and on the 1-12 of May, 1536, Cabeza de Vaca and associates reached San

‡ Oviedo, "Historia General, etc., (III, p. 604.) "*è hicoló Dios tan bien, que lo que no pensaban andar aunque las vida les turara ocho años, la andovieron en diez meses.*"

Miguel de Culiacan, in Sinaloa.* They had traveled as successful medicine men from tribe to tribe. Their cures were attributed by themselves to miracle, since they accompanied them with prayers, and made the sign of the cross over invalids. Whatever may be thought of this explanation, it is given sincerely by the wanderers. Unacquainted with the art of healing, driven to practice it by urgings, threats, and even violence, of savages who controlled their lives, the Spaniards had consented with fear and trembling, and when, against their own hopes, success attended the first cases, it was but natural to attribute such unexpected results to miraculous intervention of divine power. What sort of treatment they adopted can be inferred from what knowledge they confess to of the practices of medicine-men among Indians, consequently of curative herbs also. To this they added Catholic prayers and empirical facts, such as any person at the age of reason is likely to possess. Armed with the Indian sorcerer's favorite rattle, performing the sign of the cross, and orations in Latin, they represented a grotesque compound of the

medicine-man and of the missionary.† But their success was such that they acquired full ascendancy over the savages, and they improved it, not for purposes of lust and greed, but in order to prevail upon the natives to guide them as swiftly as possible and as directly as possible "toward sunset."

It is not the wanderer's sufferings and woes, neither is it the adventurous cast of the whole journey which attracts our attention here; it is the small cluster of facts, topographical, botanical zoological and ethnographical, gathered, and subsequently recorded, by Cabeza de Vaca and his friends. These data are necessarily meagre, still they enable us to trace the line of march which the travelers must have followed. That line of march led them, not as has commonly been admitted, through any part of New Mexico, but considerably south of it, through southern Texas and central Chihuahua into Sonora; thence south into Sinaloa.

Until now, investigations of the trip of Cabeza de Vaca have been founded upon his book, published at Valladolid in 1555, under the title of '*Naufragios, y Relacion de la Jornada que hizo à la Florida.*'‡ Accessory information was gathered from the contemporary work of Gomara and from Herrera's great and reliable compilation. Another contem-

* This date is well settled—Cabeza de Vaca '*Naufragios*,' (Vedia I, Chap. xxxiii, p. 546.) "Y pasados quince dias que alli habiamos llegado." (p. 547) "En la villa de Sant Miguel estuvimos hasta 15 dias del mes de Mayo." Antonio de Herrera, '*Historia general de los Hechos de los castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra firme del mar Ocano.*' (Edition of 1726, Dec. VI, Libr. I, Chap. vii, p. 11 of Vol. II.) speaks of a certificate issued on the fifteenth of May (old style) and adds: "i haviendo estado alli quince dias."

† Compare '*Naufragios*,' (Chap. xxi, xxii, etc.) Oviedo '*Historia general etc.*,' (III, p. 603 etc.)

‡ In quoting the '*Naufragios*' I use the copy of it contained in Vol. I of Vedia's '*Historiadores primitivos de Indias.*' I have collated it with the original and found it very reliable. The full title I omit as unnecessary.

porary of Cabeza de Vaca, and one who was personally acquainted with him, has, in the meantime, been overlooked. This is Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés. His voluminous 'Historia general y natural de Indias' contains an almost literal copy of a report which Cabeza de Vaca, Castillo and Dorantes *jointly* made to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, besides notice of an interview which Oviedo had with the first one at Madrid, and a critical comparison of the two writings.* It appears that the *joint* report was never printed, although *this*, and not the 'Naufragios' is the proper official document. Still there is little discrepancy between the two. They corroborate each other in all important topics, and differ merely in subordinate matters.

While Narvaez evidently landed on the western coast of Florida, and the majority of his men perished around the Mississippi Delta at sea, or on the shores west of it, only the mouths of the great rivers are mentioned.† Their most unhappy days were spent in a quadrangle, bounded by the gulf on the south, the Mississippi on the east, Red river on the north, and Trinity river on the west. West of Sabine river they started on their long peregrination in

* Edition of 1852 (Vol. III, Lib. xxxv.) or the entire thirty-fifth book (sixteenth of the second part) is devoted to Cabeza de Vaca, his friends, and their adventures.

† Oviedo 'Hist. General' (III, p. 592, p. 600.) not 'Naufragios' mentions the river of 'Espiritu Santo' at the latter's mouth. Under that name the Mississippi was known.

August, 1535, †† heading as directly as possible for the west.

They had acquired such influence over the Indians that the latter, even sometimes against their own inclinations, guided the Christians almost constantly towards *sunset*. ‡ Still they kept at no great distance from the coast, though with the intention of removing from it. || They traveled five days, crossing a river "wider than Guadalquivir at Sevilla," and quite deep. § This river was the Trinity. Three days march west of this river they began to see mountains, one range of which seemed to sweep directly northward. One day further, or "five leagues further on" they reached another river, "at the foot of the point where the said mountains commenced.** That river was the Brazos and by "mountains"—the hills of central Texas must be understood. Cabeza de Vaca says he estimated the distance of these "mountains" from the sea to be fifteen leagues (forty miles about. People from the coast came in one day to visit them. ††

†† Oviedo 'Hist. general' (III, p. 603).

‡ It is superfluous to quote here. The allusions are too numerous.

|| *Ut supra*.

§ Oviedo 'Hist. general' (p. 604.) 'Naufragios' (Chap. xxvii, p. 539).

** 'Hist. general' (p. 605.) 'Naufragios' (p. 539, Chap. xxviii).

†† 'Naufragios' (Chapter xxviii, p. 539.) 'Oviedo' (p. 605). 'E luego aquella noche enviaron á llamar gente abaxo hácia el mar, y el dia siguiente viniéron muchos hombus é mugeres á ver estos chripstianos é sus miraglos, é á traerlos cosas que les diceon, é aquestos trabaxocon mucho por los llevar hacia la mar."

Here they changed their direction, and moved northwards along the base of a "mountain chain," and partly away from water-courses, eighty leagues according to the joint report—fifty according to Cabeza de Vaca. The last estimate is more likely, for the journey was painful and slow, and they experienced great scarcity of food as well as of water.* In this manner they reached the vicinity of Fort Graham. Here they changed their route, making towards sunset again.

Including lengthy stays among Indian hordes, our Spaniards consumed nearly two months in these wanderings, so that it was November when they began to move westward again. Guided by sunset and sunrise, they consequently followed a line *south* of west, it being now late in the fall. The further they advanced, the greater became that southerly deflection. They crossed the Colorado and finally struck a large river, to which they gave the name "Rio de las Vacas"† or, river of the cows, since the buffalo herds were said to roam more than fifty leagues up the river. ‡

This is the last stream mentioned in either of the "relations." It was evidently the Rio Grande.

Here both reports become extraordinarily diffuse, although the joint nar-

rative is less so than Cabeza de Vaca's book. Still, it is easily discernible that the Spaniards struck the Rio Grande *without crossing the Pecos*, therefore below or very near the latter's mouth. Refusing to go due north where the "cows" were, they followed the eastern bank for fifteen (the 'Naufragios' have seventeen) days.§ The mountains were to the north, and during this tramp they suffered much from hunger. At the end of fifteen, or of seventeen, days they crossed the river to the west. The distance from the mouth of the Pecos to Presidio del Norte (where the Rio Conchos empties into the Rio Grande) is about two hundred and fifty miles, a reasonable stretch for fifteen days, of wearisome and difficult foot travel. I conclude, therefore, that they crossed the latter river about Fort Seaton. Thereafter their route lay towards sunset again, and no more water courses are mentioned.

At the end of seventeen days (says Cabeza de Vaca) they entered high mountains, and found people who lived in houses of sod and clay, as well as in huts of boughs and palm leaves.||

In a straight line, the eastern flank of the Sierra Madre of Chihuahua is scarcely two hundred miles from the mouth of Conchos. This distance increases if we take a more southerly deflection. At all events, it was easy for the four adventurers to reach the mountain-chain in the time specified. They traversed it for upwards of eighty

* 'Naufragios' (Chap. xxviii to xxx.) 'Oviedo' (pp. 605, 608).

† 'Naufragios' (Chap. 542). The name is properly given, not to the river, but to the Indians who lived on its shores, but he adds: "y porque aquel rio arriba mas de cincuenta leguas, van matando muchas de ellas."

‡ *Ut supra.*

§ Oviedo (p. 609.) 'Naufragios' (Chap. xxxi, p. 544.)

|| *Ibid.*

leagues (two hundred and sixteen miles), and at last reached a valley which, owing to the fact that its inhabitants fed them on hearts of deer, was called by them "Valle de los Corazones," (Valley of the Hearts,)* a name which, for some time thereafter, has been quite prominent in the history of colonization of the Pacific coast.

The valley of the "Corazones" lays south of "Batuco," in the present state of Sonora. It was also north of the Yaqui river.† Consequently it belonged

*Oviedo (p. 610.) 'Naufragios' (Chap. xxxii.)

† Pedro de Castaneda de Nagera. 'Relation du voyage de Cibola' (French translation by Ternaux Compans) says that the "Valle de los Corazones" was below that of the Sonora river (p. 157). He also states that: "Quand l'on fut arrive à Batuco, des Indiens alliés de la vallée des Coracones vinrent au devant de l'armée pour voir le général." Consequently it was near Batuco and south of it. Batuco itself belongs to the "Eudeves," a Pima dialect, but the Pimas proper reach as far south as Comuripa. Manuel Orozco y Berra 'Geografia de las lenguas y carta etnográfica de México' (pp. 344 and 351.) Compare also: P. Andres Perez de Ribas. 'Historia de los Triunfos de nuestra Santa Fee entre Gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del nuevo Orbe; conseguidos por los soldados de la milicia de la compania de Jesus, etc.' (Madrid 1645. Lib. vi, Cap. i. page 358.) Comoripa, Tecoripa, Suaqui are ascribed to the "Nebomes bajos." "Nebome" is synonymous with Pima, therefore to the lower Pimas. Finally: Juan Jaramillo 'Relation du voyage fait à la nouvelle terre sous les ordres du général Francisco Vasquez Coronado etc.' (in 'Rel: du voy. de Cibola,' appendix p. 366) describes the valley of Hearts, and indicates that it lay at least two days march of the Yaqui and north of it. Antonio de Mendoza ('Lettre à l'empereur Charles V,' "Cibola," appendix p. 289) says the "Co-

to what is called the lower "Pimeria," and its inhabitants were Pima Indians. It was in a straight line, south of west of Presidio del Norte (or in the proper direction of sunset) and the distance, allowing for circuits and turns, which a very difficult mountain region would cause, agrees perfectly with the itinerary of Cabeza de Vaca and his followers. Here they found the first traces of Spanish intercourse, and henceforth turned to the south, almost reaching the Pacific coast. They kept at a distance of about thirty miles from it.‡ Near the confines of Sonora and Sinaloa, between the Yaqui and Mayo rivers, the wanderers at last met their first countrymen—Lázaro Cebreros and four soldiers.§ Still their troubles did

razones' are one hundred and twenty leagues (three hundred and twenty-five miles) north of Culiacan in Sonora. That distance would place it in the vicinity of Batuco with Indians from the Corazones. Cabeza de Vaca 'Naufragios' (pp. 546, 547) founded a colony in Sinaloa. Ribas 'Hist. de los Triunfos de nuestra Santa Fee etc.' (Lib. I, Cap. vii, p. 25). The settlement was called Bamoá, on the Rio del Fuerte, "y es de lengua y nacion poblada mas de cien leguas mas la tierra adentro." Orozco y Berra 'Geografia de las Lenguas' (p. 333). "La Concepcion Bamoá fué fundada con los indios pimas, que vinieron acompanando en su peregrinacion à Cabeza de Vaca y à sus companeros."

‡ Oviedo (p. 611).

§ 'Naufragios' (Cap. xxxiv, p. 545). Herrera 'Historia general etc.' (Dec. vi, Lib. i, C. vii, p. 10). F. Antonio Tello, 'Historia de la Nueva Galicia' (Vol. II, "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, 1866," Cap. xii, p. 358). Matias de la Mota Padilla 'Historia de la Nueva Galicia,' (Cap. xv, p. 80-81).

not end here, for Cebreros, as well as the Captain Diego Alcàraz, ill-treated them for a time, and it was only at Culiacan (where they arrived on the twelfth of May, 1536) that Melchior Diaz extended to the sufferers a hearty welcome, and bestowed upon them every attention which their long misfortune demanded.

If, now, we retrace our steps from the well-ascertained point of Culiacan, following the trail of Cabeza de Vaca as laid down by himself and his associates, we have to look for the valley of the "Hearts," one hundred leagues at least (two hundred and seventy miles) north of our point of departure. That distance leaves us north of the Rio Yaqui and south of Batuco, latitude twenty-eight degrees thirty minutes about, in Sonora. The first great river east of Sonora is the Rio Grande, next comes the Colorado in Texas, finally the Brazos. Cabeza de Vaca and his friends, traveling from east to west, crossed all the streams mentioned by them. Consequently, those streams ran from north to south on an average. Such a system of drainage flowing to the gulf, west of the Mississippi, is found only in southern Texas. Therefore the Spanish adventurers remained in southern Texas until they reached the Rio Grande, and never entered the territory of New Mexico.

Once across the Rio Grande, they moved uniformly towards sunset, that is south of west. That course, instead of approaching New Mexico, carried them away from its southern borders.

The itineraries of the castaways con-

tain reference to plants of the regions traversed, and these references bear upon the route followed, inasmuch as they characterize vegetation. In the earlier part of the narratives, those which treat of the eastern sections, the coast and the swamp flora of Louisiana is sufficiently indicated.* Further on, on their westward journey, three of the most characteristic nutritive plants of the southwest are mentioned on various occasions. These are the "Tuna," or prickly pear, (*Opuntia*), the "Mezquite," (*Algarrobia glandulosa*), and in the hilly or mountainous districts of Texas, the Pinon (*Pinus edulis*).† West of central Texas, however, and along the Rio Grande, stress is laid in the fact that vegetation becomes scant and devoid of alimentary species. In the Sierra Madre palms are alluded to.‡ All these data corroborate the route which I have determined.

It is equally noteworthy that nowhere any mention is made of the great plain now called "Llano estacado," which occupies southeastern New Mexico as well as northern Texas. Its extent, peculiar vegetation and great aridity could not fail to attract the attention of the travelers. Their Indian guides, however, kept far south of

* Compare 'Naufragios,' (Chap. xii to Chap. xx); also Oviedo (Lib. XXXV, Chap. iii to v.)

† The description agrees with a small Pinon tree. Oviedo (Chap. v, pp. 606 and 607.) The tree was found in the Sierras. See also 'Naufragios' (Chap. xxix, p. 540.) "hay por aquella tierra pinos chicos, y las pinas de ellas son como huevos pequenos."

‡ Oviedo (Chap. VI, p. 609.)

the desert, thus tracing a line of march through *southern* Texas at least one degree of latitude below the New Mexican boundary.

Had the adventurous Spaniards ever trod the soil of eastern or southern New Mexico, they would have come in contact with immense herds of buffaloes. They saw the great quadruped several times during the first six or seven years of their adventurous career. Cabeza de Vaca states that it occasionally reached the Gulf coast in Florida*—but so soon as they began to travel westward, the buffalo country remained always to the *north* of them, and at some distance.† Once across the river and in Chihuahua, they did not hear any more of the "hunch-backed cows."‡ To leave the buffalo grounds steadily in the north while travelling to the west, meant striking across *southern* Texas exclusively, and to reach the Rio Grande at or below the mouth of the Pecos river.

Lastly, the narratives fairly teem with diffuse information about the inhabitants of the country. Unfortunately the names used in order to designate tribes and bands are such that we cannot determine anything from them. Out of eight-

teen or twenty names of "languages," not one can be identified as yet.§ It is different, however, with the picture presented of the degree of culture and mode of life. This picture shows roving tribes without fixed abode, subsisting from fishing along the coast at certain periods of the year, scattering towards the interior during the seasons when certain wild fruits ripened. The weapons of these natives consisted of bows and of arrows tipped with fish bones, shell fragments, and with flint brought from the interior by exchange. Further westward the mode of life became less transitory, and as they approached the Rio Grande, while the population was more numerous, their excursions seemed to be confined to buffalo ranges, which invariably lay further north.|| Beyond Texas in Chihuahua, Indians were as wild as east of it. It was only among the "high mountains," which I have identified as the "Sierra Madre," that tribes were found who enjoyed more permanent abodes.

There, too, the Spaniards met with the first fields of maize or Indian corn,¶ neither in Louisiana nor in Texas, nor in Chihuahua, had they found any tribe which cultivated that great American staple. Beans were raised on the Rio Grande, otherwise vegetable food con-

* 'Naufraios' [Chap. xviii, p. 532.] Oviedo [Interview de. p. 617.]

† Oviedo [Chap. VI, pp. 608 and 609.] 'Naufraios' [Chap. xxx and xxxi.]

‡ "Vacas Corcobadas"—Thus they are called by Francisco Lopez de Gomara. 'Historia General de las Indias' [in Vedia, 'Historiadores primitivos, etc.,' Vol. I, p. 288.]—The reports of Cabeza de Vaca were the earliest notices received in Europe of the buffalo, which were of a positive and well-defined nature.

§ Compare 'Naufraios' (Chap. xxvi).

|| 'Naufraios,' [Chap. xxx, xxxi].

¶ 'Idem' [Chap. xxx] The Indians knew maize, but they had not planted any for several years, owing to drouth. So they brought what they needed from the west. "Tambien nosotros quesimos saber de donde habian traido aquel maiz, y ellos nos dijeron que de donde el sol se ponía."

sisted of wild fruits, leaves and roots exclusively.*

Neither did the inhabitants of the country use or make any *pottery*. Gourds supplied the want of ceramic utensils.† Had, now, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions touched any part of New Mexico, they could not have failed to meet corn-tilling and pottery-making aborigines, or to hear of them in a very definite manner, as also of the permanent abodes of the so-called Pueblos. Nothing of the sort is told or intimated. In central Texas, between the Brazos and Colorado, a copper-rattle was given to them which, the Indians claimed, had been brought from the west, together with some cotton cloth.‡ The most southerly villages of New Mexican natives existed in the sixteenth century about San Marcial,§ at least three hun-

* References to these facts are numerous in Cabeza de Vaca as well as in the joint report, so that quotations are superfluous.

† See 'Naufragios' [Chap. xxx].

‡ 'Idem' [Chap. xxix,] 'Ovieda' [p. 606]. The rattle probably came from the northeast.

§ This is abundantly proven. I refer to the following papers contained in the 'Coleccion de Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones espanolas en América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente de los de Indias.'

1. Pedro de Bustamante and Hernan Gallegos 'Testimonio' sixteenth of May, 1582, [pp. 83-89, Vol. XV].

2. 'Relacion breve y verdadera del descubrimiento del nuevo Mexico,' sixth of October, 1583. [Vol. XV, pp. 146-147].

3. Antonio de Espejo 'Relacion del Viaje,' [p. 109]. 'Expediente y Relacion, etc.' [p. 172].

4. Juan de Onate, 'Discurso de las Jornadas que hizo el campo de su magestad desde la nueva Espana a la Provincia de la nueva Mexico' [Vol. XVI, p. 250]—and others.

dred and fifty miles north-northwest of Presidio del Norte. Intercourse was difficult and slow; the tribes of central Texas seldom, if ever, came in contact with the Pueblos, and then only on buffalo hunts. It is not surprising, therefore, that the travelers heard nothing of countries and people so far distant, and it is certain that they never set their foot on New Mexican soil, as far as the territory is understood to extend at the present time.

The first houses of earth or sod which they saw were those in the Sierra Madre of Chihuahua. The locality or region is established by the statement that the people of these villages had *parrot's feathers* in such quantities that they traded them off further north in exchange for *turquoises*.|| The green parrot is no inhabitant of either New Mexico or Arizona. It dwells in the pine forests of the Sierra Madre; therefore south of the Mexican boundary. The Indians who inhabited these buildings belonged, evidently, to the Jovas, a linguistical branch of the *Pimas of Sonora*.¶ Like their congeners they had houses of sod or of large, coarse "adobes," as an exception, the *rule* being for them to live in huts of canes and palm leaves.** Such is also the

| 'Naufragios' [Chap. XXXI.] Oviedo [pp. 609 and 610.]

¶ Orozco y Berra *Geografia de Lenguas* [r. 345.]

† Compare Ribas 'Historia de los Triumphos etc.,' [Lib. VI, Chap. vii, p. 369-372; Chap. xviii, p. 391; Chap. ii, pp. 360; Part II, Lib. VIII, Chap. ii, p. 471.] P. Francisco Xavier Alegre 'Historia de la Compania de Jesus en Nueva Espana' [edited by Bustamante in 1841. Vol. I, Lib. III, p. 231-235.]

description furnished by Cabeza de Vaca and his friends. Their joint narrative says: "And those Indians had a few small houses of earth, made of sod, with their flat roofs."* This style of architecture is widely different from the compact, many-storied, Pueblo villages.

The people of these settlements informed Cabeza de Vaca that the parrot plumes which they owned were traded by them with tribes who, in the north, lived among high mountains.† This may be an allusion to the New Mexican village Indians, although it is not absolutely certain. Large houses of clay (and rubble) were inhabited by the "Opatas" also, in the northern Sierra Madre, and the many-storied

"casa grande," "casa blanca," on the banks of the Gila river in Arizona were formerly Pima villages.‡

Even if the information thus picked up and transmitted by Cabeza de Vaca should relate to New Mexico, it does not entitle him to the credit of being the discoverer of that country. Neither was his trip necessary for directing the attention of the Spaniards to the north. But it increased their desire to penetrate in that direction, and furnished a daring, although injudicious guide, in the person of the negro Estévanico, to the subsequent discoverer of New Mexico and of the "Pueblo" Indians—Fray Marcos of Nizza.

AD. F. BANDELIER.

VERITAS CAPUT.

ORIGIN OF LAKE ITASCA'S NAME.

WHEN the school-boy learns in his geography lesson that Lake Itasca is the source of the monarch of North American rivers, he thinks, if at all, of the wild forests, wild beasts and wild men who abound in that mysterious because little known region of Minnesota; but it never occurs to him to inquire whence came the name of the little lake, like a speck on his map, which gives birth to the watery serpent whose sinuous curves wind down through the centre of the continent three thousand

two hundred miles. Yet, if he but chose to ask the question, there lives in Minnesota a man who could answer it, since he was present at the lake's christening. This man is the Rev. W. T. Boutwell, who is now eighty-three years old, and the only survivor of the first American expedition sent to explore the headquarters of the Mississippi, and to reconcile the northwestern Indians to the American government. He gives the following account of the

* Oviedo [p. 609.]

† 'Naufraños,' Chap. xxxi, p. 543.

‡ Compare my report in the 'Fifth Annual Report of the Archaeological Institute of America,' pp. 80, 81.

memorable expedition undertaken in 1832 :

In 1831 Mr. Boutwell was sent by the American board of missions to Mackinaw, Michigan, then the headquarters of the American Fur company. The chief of the Indian missions at Mackinaw, Rev. William Ferry (father of ex-Senator Ferry), set him first at learning the Chippewa language, which occupied his time for a year.

Though England conceded the right of the United States to the northwestern country in 1816, it was several years before the English hunters and trappers were driven out and the Americans put in possession of the territory. Encouraged by their old English friends, the Indians made frequent trips across the border into British America, where hatred of the Americans was incited by the wily Britisher, and the bonds of ancient friendship cemented by liberal presents of tobacco, trinkets, British flags, etc. The natural result was the frequent massacre of American traders and trappers by the savages. In 1832 the American government decided to send an expedition among the Indians, with presents and medals and flags, to convince them of the good intentions of their new great father, and win their friendship and good will.

Accordingly, Henry R. Schoolcraft, the general Indian agent at Sault Ste. Marie, with Mr. Boutwell, a physician, an interpreter, and a squad of soldiers under Lieutenant Allen, thirty men all told, supplied with all necessities, started out in row boats. They coasted along the southern shore of Lake Su-

perior to Fort Fond-du-Lac, at the head of the lake, ascended the St. Louis river about seventy-five miles, thence up Savan river to its source in a tamarac swamp. A short portage took them over the divide and brought them to a small stream, down which they floated to the Mississippi. They then rowed up the Father of Waters to Cass lake, until then supposed to be the Mississippi's source.

After spending some days exchanging American medals and flags for like articles given by British hands, and cultivating friendship with the red men, they learned from the Indians that Cass lake was not the source of the Mississippi. Under the guidance of a chief and a large party of the tribe, the Americans started up the river in canoes in search of the true source. When they reached Itasca five of the party—Schoolcraft, Boutwell, Allen, Houghton and the interpreter—canoeed by Indians, made a tour of the lake and satisfied themselves that it had no inlet and no other outlet than that by which they came.

They afterward landed upon an island, planted an American flag, and spent some time in discussing a name for the newly discovered lake, the Indian appellation being too much of a jaw-breaker for the civilized tongue to successfully surround. Being satisfied this lake was the real source of the Mississippi, as the Indians claimed, Schoolcraft asked Boutwell if he knew of any word which would mean "the true head of the river." Boutwell answered that he knew of no one word with the required meaning, but the two Latin

words, *veritas*, "true," and *caput*, "head," would express the desired meaning. The two words were written upon a piece of paper, but made too long a name; so Schoolcraft erased the first syllable of the first word and the last syllable of the second word, and joined the remaining syllables, *Ver-Itasca-put*. The lake was then formally named "Itasca," and by that name referred to in the report to the government.

Mr. Boutwell considers it a great thing to relate that as they passed out of the lake he landed from his canoe and at one bound jumped across the mighty Mississippi, at that place about twelve feet wide and three or four feet deep.

The exploring party finished their work among the Indians, then started for home. They descended the Mississippi past the sites of the great cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, then occupied only by a few head of government cattle belonging to Fort Snelling, and stopped for a short consultation at Kaposha, a Sioux village a few miles below where St. Paul now is. They then descended to the mouth of the St. Croix, went up the latter river past the present site of Stillwater to its source, made a portage of a few miles to Burnt Wood river, thence to Lake Superior, returning as they came to headquarters at the "Soo."

HERBERT L. BAKER.

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.

II.

The result on this insult to the best Whig sentiment of the north, was a great diversion of strength, from the ranks of the Whigs, to those of the Freesoil Democrats, who nominated Hale and Julian upon their national ticket and, in Michigan, placed a full ticket in the field, with Isaac P. Christianity at its head. The Democrats renominated Robert McClelland, one of their best men, and second in strength only to General Cass.

The canvass preceding the election was one of unprecedented activity and thoroughness. Mr. Chandler took the stump early in September and spoke

almost nightly until the close of the week preceding the election. He thus visited every important place in the state, and everywhere made a deep impression by the force, practical sense and evident sincerity of his utterances. In his campaign speeches he ranged himself definitely as the friend of protection and of internal improvements, and discussed national affairs practically and unsensationally, from the standpoint of a business man.

His vigorous canvass aroused the Democrats to their utmost endeavor, and led General Cass to take the stump, lest his own state should be last. The re-

sult of the election was a victory for the Democratic ticket, McClelland receiving 42,768 votes, Chandler 34,660 and Christiancy 5,850. Mr. Chandler ran 801 votes ahead of Scott, from 500 to 4,000 votes ahead of his associates upon the Whig ticket and received 11,000 more votes than had any other Whig candidate for the governorship in the history of the state. This result has especial force when it is considered that a very large proportion of Christiancy's support was drawn from the Whig party.

This creditable defeat marked Chandler as the hope of the Michigan opposition. The Whig party was moribund, and, in the increasing impatience of many northern Democrats with the overweening arrogance of the southern wing of that party, there was indication of a disaffection that might prove serious. For any rearray of forces which should give the various elements of the Michigan opposition success in action, as well as unity of aim, there was needed a new man, one of strong popularity, organizing genius, sufficient individual force to be a strong leader, and of such character and ability as to command the united respect of a newly associated and ill-welded party. The campaign of 1852 was earlier by more than a year than the final aggressions directed at Kansas and Nebraska, which united the northern opposition to the extension of slavery, prepared the way for the Republican party, hopelessly divided the Democracy, made Lincoln President in 1860, and precipitated the great crime of rebellion. It is none the less true,

however, that the agencies which finally so culminated were at work, that the result was certain, and that the magnificent battle of 1852, marked Mr. Chandler and set him apart for the service of the future. The compact between the progressive elements of Michigan and their new champion was tacitly sealed when the Whig minority of the state legislature gave him a unanimous complimentary vote as United States senator, to succeed Alpheus Felch, whose term expired on the third day of March, 1853.

The causes which led to the formation of the Republican party form a part of the general history of the United States, and it should be safe to assume familiarity with them on the part of every reader; yet a brief *resume* of the leading events and dates may not be amiss. In 1820 the famous Missouri compromise, so-called, was adopted. By its terms the slave power gained the organization and admission of Missouri as a slave state, and the erection of Arkansas as a slave territory; by its terms slavery was, on the other hand, forever prohibited in all the original Louisiana territory, north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude. This compromise was one based upon mutual consideration, and was binding both in law and morals.

From a very early day the clear-sighted leaders of the slave power saw the danger, to their peculiar institution, that lurked in the development by New England settlement of a free west, and the consequent increase in congressional representation from free states.

To offset this danger, Louisiana was acquired from France, Florida from Spain, an iniquitous war was waged against Mexico for the acquisition of Texas, and a futile effort was made to secure the purchase of Cuba.

With all this, the south felt neither secure nor satisfied. In 1850 another sweeping compromise was made, by which the north meekly submitted to the erection of the territories of Utah and New Mexico, without a prohibition of slavery. The abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia was forbidden, and every northern man was made a participant in the great wrong by the terms of the fugitive slave law. In return for these concessions, California, which could never have become a slave state, was admitted free, and the slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia, involving so serious a matter as the transfer of the actual slave market across the Potomac river.

During all the debate upon the precious "compromise," there was no hint that the binding force of compromise of 1820 was questioned. Soon after the assembling of congress, in December, 1853, when a bill was introduced for the erection of the territory of Nebraska, including the vast region between the states of Missouri and Iowa and the Rocky mountains, the committee on territories, after due consideration, reported, as a substitute, two bills providing for the organization of the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, declaring that the prohibition of slavery, contained in the Missouri compromise, should not be held to apply to these or

to any territories in the United States, and that the questions pertaining to slavery in the territories or the states to be organized therefrom, should be left to the action of the people, through their appropriate representatives. The justification urged for this shameful breach of law and honor, was that the compromise of 1850 operated as an abrogation of that of 1820. There is scarcely recorded in the annals of civilized legislation, a more disgraceful example of dishonesty and bad faith. The President of the United States was a party to it, and, after the bill had been passed by parliamentary sleight of hand, signed it. Later, in the bloody struggle between the actual settlers of Kansas and the colonized ruffians sent there to secure, by any means, the adoption of a constitution providing for the existence of slavery, the regular soldiers of the United States were made agents in reducing the Freesoil settlers to submission.

The slave power had overreached itself. It had underestimated, very excusably, the spirit of the north. The Democratic party was divided—a majority hopelessly committed to the slave cause, a strong minority alienated and ready for any honorable alliance that promised safety to the constitution, respect of law and the preservation of fundamental rights. The Whig party was dead, and its body at the disposal of any responsible party that could use it. Incidentally, Stephen A. Douglas, the Little Grant of the Democracy, had gone down with the wreck. He crawled out and recovered far enough to par-

tially regain his standing with the northern wing of his party, to estrange himself from its southern section, and to be soundly beaten in 1860.

The honor of having organized the Republican party has been claimed by many states and by many persons. It unquestionably belongs to Michigan as a state, and to the hundreds of earnest men who met at Jackson on the sixth day of July, 1854. This convention adopted the name Republican; adopted the first platform of the party, and made its first nominations. The demand for the uniting of all citizens opposed to the extension of slavery, in a compact and efficient party, sprang up spontaneously, as a result of the Kansas and Nebraska outrage, and co-equal effort to that end was almost simultaneous in every northern state. But Joseph Warren, editor of the *Detroit Tribune*, was probably the first to make the proposal in definite form, and to Mr. Warren, Jacob M. Howard and Horace Greeley, the name is due. The delicate task of persuading the Freesoil Democrats and the anti-slavery Whigs to surrender their organization, the latter party giving up as well a time-honored name and the traditions of many years, was carried to success by a number of leading Freesoilers and Whigs, of whom Mr. Chandler was one. He signed the original call for the Jackson convention, and was one of the speakers, "under the oaks," on the momentous day. The Freesoil Democrats had held a convention in February, and nominated a ticket, at the head of which was Kinsley S. Bingham of Livingston county,

as candidate for governor. This ticket had been withdrawn, that it might not stand in the way of the new organization. Mr. Chandler, in his speech before the convention, made allusion to Mr. Bingham's honorable congressional service, and did his utmost in favor of the nomination of that gentleman as the first Republican candidate for governor of Michigan—a nomination which was unanimously made by the convention.

During the campaign of 1854 Mr. Chandler worked with untiring energy, tact and skill in organizing the party and adding to its ranks. There was at first some dissatisfaction among the Whigs—a feeling that the work given in charge of the Republican party might have been as well done by them without relinquishing their name and party existence, and that, granting the fusion, the Whig element should have been better represented upon the ticket. These and similar complaints were met and silenced; the party was thoroughly united before election day came, and, when the votes were counted, the entire Republican ticket was found to have been elected, Bingham receiving a majority of 4,977 over John S. Barry. From that day to this, with one exception, every governor of Michigan and, without exception, every United States senator elected for the state has been a member of the Republican party.

After the abrogation of the Missouri compromise, the pro-slavery power rushed fatuously to destruction; the outrages in Kansas continued with growing malignancy, and in congress whatever small pretense of restraint had

been made was cast off: Rust of Arkansas made an attack upon Horace Greeley, and Preston Brooks assaulted Charles Sumner upon the floor of the senate. A public meeting was held in Detroit to express the feeling of the people as to the assault upon Sumner, and Mr. Chandler made a speech full of scathing denunciation, to which he added resolutions demanding that Franklin Pierce be impeached for his share in the Kansas-Nebraska conspiracy, and that Rust and Brooks be expelled from their seats. He went everywhere throughout the state making terrible arraignment of the administration, the congressional majority and the Democratic party, taking the Kansas-Nebraska outrage as a text, and using it most effectively as a means of exciting the anger and the zeal of Republicans, welding the party into consistent unity and encouraging a radicalism from which alone did he believe that the greatest results could flow. His plan for dealing with the problem in Kansas was to meet colonization with colonization—to transport to Kansas enough determined men from the free northwest to cope with and overcome the Missouri ruffians, who were terrorizing the new state. To this end he circulated a subscription for the aid of Kansas, which he headed with the sum of ten thousand dollars, and which it is safe to say was not set on foot purely for the purchase of clothing and provisions.

During the years intervening between the holding of the Jackson convention in 1854 and the presidential election of

1856, Mr. Chandler's capacity for personal leadership was fully tested and fully approved. He took the Republican party of Michigan from the hands of the midwife and made it a radical, aggressive, uncompromising, united and victorious organization. This was done with the aid of many able men, but his leadership and responsibility cannot be questioned.

In response to the call of several Republican state committees, the first national convention of that party assembled at Pittsburgh on the twenty-second day of February, 1856. Mr. Chandler headed the Michigan delegation and took part in the discussion by which a national organization was effected. This convention adjourned after calling a national convention to nominate delegates, to be held at Philadelphia on the seventeenth of June following. To the Philadelphia convention he was also a delegate, and was one of the five who first voted for Abraham Lincoln as vice-presidential candidate. When the nomination of Fremont and Dayton had been made, he arose in his place and promised to the candidates the electoral vote of Michigan.

His services in the campaign which followed were constant and efficient, and his pledge to the Philadelphia convention was redeemed, for Michigan gave to the Republican electors 71,762 votes, against 52,136 for those of the Democracy, and 1,660 for the sediment of the Whig party which had nominated Fillmore. The Republicans carried every congressional district in

Michigan, and gained an overwhelming majority in the state legislature.

The term of Lewis Cass, as United States senator, expired on the fourth of March, 1857, and no sooner did the fall election make it evident that his return would be impossible, than the name of Mr. Chandler was in many mouths as that of his successor. The canvass was carefully made, but the result was in little question. The Republican legislative caucus met at Lansing on the eighth day of January, 1857, and, on the third caucus ballot, Mr. Chandler received a clear majority of votes. The caucus adjourned to the ninth and took two more ballots, the second giving him eighty votes against eight scattering. His principal opponent was Isaac P. Christiancy, while Austin Blair, Moses Wisner and Jacob M. Howard also developed considerable strength. On the tenth, the legislature voted for senator. One vote was blank, the Democrats cast complimentary ballots for Cass to the number of sixteen, and Mr. Chandler received the remaining eighty-nine votes.

Thus did one great popular leader of many years give way to another by the growth of a new sentiment and a new political array. No two men were ever more unlike, and the radical change of the day is clearly expressed by the difference. Cass was constantly conservative, and a leader within his party, adapting himself, from year to year, to the changing sentiment of that organization; Chandler was aggressive, belligerent, the leader of his party, taking that party with him as years

broadened his view. "*L'etat est moi*" might well be paraphrased in his case, for, during nearly a quarter of a century, he was the incarnation of Michigan Republicanism.

The senatorial career of Mr. Chandler cannot be minutely treated in this paper. His acts are so intermingled with the rushing current of events, from the year 1857 until his death, that to bring them fully before the reader, would involve writing the history of a period which it would tax the ability of a master and the capacity of octavos to portray. Certain representative episodes must be selected, and treated with the assumption that collateral events are familiar, and with the aim of showing not the extent, but the inspiration and direction of his work.

The senate assembled on the fourth day of March, 1857, being convened by the retiring President at the request of his successor, and Jefferson Davis, Robert Toombs, Judah P. Benjamin, John Slidell, R. M. T. Hunter, James M. Mason and others later prominent in the "Confederacy," were among its members, as were Hannibal Hamlin, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, John P. Hale, William H. Seward, Benjamin F. Wade, Simon Cameron and Stephen A. Douglas from the northern states. The Democrats controlled both houses of congress, but they had to deal with a large and determined Republican minority, very different in spirit from the dough-faces which had before been so large an element in the opposition. The new members advanced to the desk of the presiding officer in groups

of four to take the oath, and Jefferson Davis, "with treason in his heart and perjury upon his lips," was unequally yoked together with the senator from Michigan for this purpose. Twenty-two years later Mr. Chandler made this incident the subject of one of the greatest oratorical efforts of his life, and one of the most sensational speeches ever delivered in the United States senate.

Mr. Chandler entered congress when there was work, and to spare, for every patriotic member. Pierce had aided the Democracy in the wrongs which had so nearly served to unite the north; Buchanan was inaugurated—a puppet in the hands of the southern propaganda; the Republican party had so hotly contested the Presidential campaign as to make the victory of the Democracy a Pyrrhic one, and to promise defeat upon the next field. The conjunction which John C. Calhoun had described in 1850 had come. The plot against Kansas and Nebraska evidently could not succeed; the "equilibrium" (an equilibrium that gave to the south for many years an overweening influence) was destroyed, and the southern members were indeed prepared to "act accordingly."

The crime of secession and rebellion was hatched and from 1857 until 1861 the loyal minority was compelled to fight inglorious legislative battles against a traitorous majority, deliberately working, by the aid of an imbecile administration, to cripple the country whose abandonment had been as deliberately planned. In spite of every effort, the loyal President, in 1861,

found an empty treasury, an impaired credit, sacked arsenals, an army largely officered by disloyal men who accepted the training and the pay of the government they would destroy, and fleets scattered to the remotest corners of the earth. These were the appliances with which it must face a rebellion planned for a decade, and organized for half that time.

Mr. Chandler's service against the disloyal majority was very active. He entered congress with a full conviction that the cause represented by the Republican party was the cause of right and justice, with a hearty distrust of the intentions and professions of the south, and a deep contempt for the dough faces of the north, not a few of whom still lagged superfluous in the halls of legislation. He was not long in penetrating the designs of the country's enemies, or in seeing that rebellion and war were almost inevitable, and he was inflexibly determined to fight the great crime with fire, to any extremity and at any cost to himself and his fellows. His loyalty was entire and his bravery perfect. He knew from first to last no faltering, no doubt, no fear, and could never bring himself to look with patience upon any proposal for compromise.

During the year 1857 he spoke upon several minor matters, the most important being the deliberate neglect of the northwest in making up the senate committees. In speaking on the proposition to increase the army, he said: "If you will show to me that they require a force in Utah to put down

rebellion, I will vote for it, I care not if it be one regiment or one hundred." In these words he gave his southern colleagues a significant hint of what was afterward to be his attitude upon the matter of providing means of war.

In the spring of 1856 the final act of the disgraceful Kansas and Nebraska drama was played. A convention, organized and controlled by colonized ruffians, had framed the immortally notorious Lecompton constitution for Kansas, and had procured its ostensible ratification at an election from which the *bona-fide* settlers of the territory were practically excluded. Though this constitution was almost unanimously rejected at a later and an honestly conducted election, it was sought to obtain from congress the admission of Kansas, with the recognition of the Lecompton constitution and the Lecompton government.

To this audacious proposal, Mr. Chandler, on the twelfth day of March, 1858, made his first set speech, occupying the floor for nearly three hours, and holding the attention of every member of the senate, many representatives and an interested gallery. The speech, though carefully prepared and read from the manuscript, was a triumph of pure oratory as well as of argument. It had all the fire of an extemporaneous effort, yet the array of its facts, and its logical force bore conclusive weight. It was the speech of the occasion, widely read and widely influential, and drew from many sources the expression that it entitled him to a place among the first debaters of the country. In speak-

ing of the effects of the policy from which Kansas had suffered, and of the final outrage proposed, he said :

The people of Kansas are almost unanimously opposed to this constitution; yet you propose to force it upon them without their consent. It cannot be done. The government has not bayonets enough to force a constitution upon the necks of an unwilling people. It is our purpose to avoid the shedding of blood upon the soil of the United States by civil war. While I will not charge upon the supporters of the Lecompton constitution the purpose, in civil war, of shedding blood upon the soil of the United States, I do charge that they, and they alone, will be responsible for every drop of blood that may be shed in consequence of the adoption of that constitution. I trust in God civil war will never come; but if it should come, upon their heads, and theirs alone, will rest the responsibility of every drop that may flow. I trust in God that this question will never be pushed to that extremity, for I would have less respect for the people of Kansas than I now have if I supposed they would, tamely submit to have a constitution thrust down their throats, without authority of law and against law, without making resistance. I would disown them as descendants of the men who fought our revolutionary battles, if I did not think they would resist any illegal attempts to force a constitution upon them.

The speech was made with the approval of senators Cameron, Wade and Hamlin, and won congratulations from others. Some of the more timid Republicans, however, deemed it imprudent and rebuked Mr. Chandler for uttering it, while it was hotly denounced from the Democratic side and by southern members. It fixed Mr. Chandler's position definitely; not only as it demonstrated his ability, but as it ranged him in the very advance of radicalism in the senate, a position which he never deserted and for which he never apologized. At every point in the debate upon the Kansas question, the Dred Scott case, the discussion upon a proposal for

congressional investigation of the Harper's Ferry raid, and the execution of John Brown, and in other similar debates, he was alert in seizing every opportunity to unmask the hypocrisy of the south, to frustrate the efforts of the secession conspirators, and to make for himself a record, which his more timid or conservative associates regarded as simply ruinous. In his speech upon the Brown resolution, he made this bold menace:

I am in favor of the resolution, because the first execution for treason that has ever occurred in the United States has just taken place. John Brown has been executed as a traitor in the state of Virginia, and I want it to go upon the records of the senate in the most solemn manner, to be held up as a warning to traitors, come they from the north, south, east or west. Dare to raise your impious hands against this government, its constitution and its laws, and you hang! Threats have been made, year after year, for the last thirty years, that, if certain events happen, this Union will be dissolved. It is no small matter to dissolve this Union. It means a bloody revolution or it means the halter. It means the successful overturn of this government or it means the fate of John Brown, and I want that to go solemnly on the record of this senate.

Six years later, had the opinion of Mr. Chandler prevailed, many of those prominent in the "bloody revolution," would have found the promise of a halter a faithful one.

Mr. Chandler's personal strength and personal courage gave him a supreme contempt for congressional ruffians of the Brooks and Rust class, who swaggered, bullied and assaulted those who offended them, more like bar-room ruffians than like statesmen or gentlemen. He believed them to be essentially cowardly; believed that they took advantage of a supposed timidity and of a

known anti-dueling principle among northern men, when they sent challenges, and of physical weakness when they threatened violence. He was determined not to be intimidated nor moved by threats, and, upon just occasion, to fight without scruple. He reached this conclusion because he believed the public interest demanded it, and from no personal inclination to quarrel. He prepared himself by gymnastic exercise (though he had little to fear from any antagonist in a purely physical contest) and by the practice of marksmanship. Senators Cameron, Wade, Hamlin and some others came to the same determination, and these gentlemen often accompanied non-belligerent members, menaced with violence, in their walks to and from the capitol.

During the year 1858, senators Cameron of Pennsylvania, and Green of Missouri, became involved in a hot discussion, in the course of debate and a charge of falsehood was made. The presiding officer succeeded in restoring order, when Green, from his seat, announced his determination to settle the matter after adjournment, and where he would be beyond the reach of senate rules. Senators Chandler, Cameron, Wade and Broderick held a consultation in the cloak room, with the result that Mr. Cameron armed himself and prepared for defense, should it be necessary. The senate, however, remained in session eighteen hours, Mr. Green thought better of his threat, and no assault was made.

As a result of this incident, senators

Chandler, Cameron and Wade made an agreement which was written and signed, but which, it was arranged, should not be made public until all its parties were dead. Mr. Cameron still lives, and he alone knows the contents of this paper, but it is supposed that its purport was a pledge on the part of the three signers to put a stop to the practice of insulting senators upon the floor of the senate, and, that in case any senator was so insulted, one of the three should take it upon himself to resent the affront and to pursue the offender, under the code, to the last extremity. No necessity drove either of the gentlemen to this resort, but the attitude taken by them, which all might know, was of great value in preserving the safety and dignity of themselves and their colleagues. The close friendship then made and cemented was never broken, save by death.

Mr. Chandler, from the day of his first formal speech in congress, never spoke to an inattentive audience. He spoke frequently, either with deliberate preparation or with the inspiration of debate, upon many important questions arising previous to 1861, not by any means confining himself to the limits of the slavery question. One of his most masterly touches, during these years, was his strong argument against the proposed purchase of Cuba. This was, in fact, a last effort for the extension of slave territory, but his business-like argument against a proposal that the government should pay ten dollars per acre for every foot of Cuban soil, while

it was selling better land for one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, ignored the sectional issue and was entirely unanswerable.

During this busy period, Mr. Chandler found time to maintain his position as a leader in his own state. He worked assiduously in the campaign of 1858, and aided in securing another sweeping success, by which the last Democratic senator who represented the state was retired, and the victory of 1856 repeated in every other particular.

At the Philadelphia convention of 1856, Mr. Chandler cast one of five votes for the nomination of Abraham Lincoln to the vice-presidency, the nomination at the head of the ticket in 1860 was entirely satisfactory to him. Early in the autumn he supported the Republican ticket in New York, later thoroughly stumped his own state, and in October visited Illinois, carrying his effort to the very door of Lincoln's home at Springfield, where he spoke on the seventeenth of October.

The splendid victory of Lincoln and Hamlin vindicated the right of the Republican party to existence as a national organization.

Perhaps here, as well as elsewhere, it may be well to turn aside from the consideration of Mr. Chandler's share in the intensely exciting contest for the Union, and of his purely political work, to speak briefly of his important, if less sensational, efforts in the field of business legislation. These may, perhaps, best be generalized under the heads of the tariff, the currency and internal im-

provements, to all of which he gave patient, persistent and permanently effective work.

Mr. Chandler retained, from his years of Whig association and his confidence in Henry Clay, a firm belief in the principle of protection in its broadest application. He believed that a high tariff, impartially adjusted and rigorously applied, meant industrial autonomy to the United States as a nation; comfort and prosperity to its people as individuals. He held that in protection lay the best defense of the workingman of every degree against the degrading influence of poverty. In these opinions, as in almost every position of his life, he was a radical, but, unlike many radicals, he was usually proven right. There was nothing visionary in his ideas. He was radical only in holding that "a right road never led to a wrong inn." Believing the theory of protection to be fundamentally correct and beneficent, he held that its practice should be sweeping and thorough—not a mere useless dabbling in shallow waters.

His advocacy of the general principle was constant throughout his life, and he never saw reason to modify his views, or to admit that the theory of protection may be a true one, if followed only to a certain point, and beyond that point becomes false and dangerous. His tariff utterances in the senate and upon the stump were entirely unsensational, business-like and practical, full of argument, full of logic and of economic wisdom, based upon figures and holding every assertion up to the light of historical truth. He favored

the Morrill tariff in 1861; labored assiduously for the abrogation of the treaty of reciprocity with Canada, and gave to every practical measure for the extension of protection his earnest effort upon the floor of the senate and in committee and personal influence in moving legislators who make laws, and the people who make legislators.

Something has been said in this paper of an early protest made by Mr. Chandler against the injustice done the Republican party and the northwestern states in the formation of committees, especially of the committee on commerce. Of the make-up of that committee, Mr. Fessenden of Maine, said, on the ninth day of March, 1857: "The Republican party, numbering twenty out of the sixty-one members of the senate, is assigned, of the whole number of seven, one member. . . . The interests of the whole lake region, the interests of New England and New York, involving, as those large portions of the country do, such an infinite superiority of all its commerce, are found with only two members out of the seven." Mr. Hamlin called Mr. Fessenden's attention to the fact that these great sections of the north had, in fact, but one member upon the committee, which Mr. Fessenden admitted. It was at the opening of the first regular session of the thirty-fifth congress in December, 1857, when the committee on commerce was announced, that Mr. Chandler made his first speech in the senate, condemning the ignoring of a strong party minority, and of the great commercial superiority of the north and

east. He closed by the prediction that the time was not far distant when the positions of the parties would be reversed, and warned the majority that when that time should come its own measure would be meted out in return.

The fulfillment of Mr. Chandler's prediction was foreshadowed at the opening of the second session of the thirty-fifth congress, in December, 1858. The Michigan senator was then added to the committee, while Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Maine, were also represented, giving the north a majority. From that time throughout his career in the senate, Mr. Chandler was a member of this committee, and during the period of its greatest usefulness, was its chairman. When, on the twenty-fourth day of January, 1861, the vice-president filled the vacancies caused by the retirement of various southern senators, the committee became fully purged of the obstructionist element and was thenceforth one of the most efficient as it is one of the most important of the senate standing committees. One of the writers who contributed to the extended biography of Mr. Chandler, published by the *Detroit Post and Tribune* in 1880,* says of Mr. Chandler's service as chairman of this committee:

Mr. Chandler's business principles were carried out in his committee work as thoroughly as they had been in his mercantile career. He believed that what was worth doing at all, was worth doing well. It was the custom of the senate committee on commerce, to assemble formally, once a week, for the consideration of such petitions and bills as had been referred to it for action. Whenever the appointed meeting arrived, Mr. Chandler was always in his

seat, while the other members but rarely displayed anything like his promptitude. It annoyed the chairman to have anyone late, and it was his custom to proceed with business as soon as a quorum was present, or, if no quorum appeared within fifteen or twenty minutes, to assume that there was one, and commence work. No protests against this measure were ever made by the tardy or absent members.

The services of Mr. Chandler in the cause of internal improvement stand second only to his loyal defense of the national existence, and greatest of all his accomplishments in this direction was the building of the ship canal at the St. Clair flats, which he compassed by the persistent effort of many years.

On the fourteenth day of January, 1858, he gave notice of his intention to introduce a bill "making an additional appropriation for deepening the channel at St. Clair flats." The bill was introduced, referred to the committee on commerce and that committee, then in common with the senate majority, hostile to internal improvements and to northern enterprise, persistently ignored it. On the twenty-fourth of April, Mr. Chandler introduced a bill instructing the committee to report back the bill for action. On May 3, he called up his resolution and demanded a vote. This demand caused a hot debate, involving the right of the senate to coerce a committee. The result was the substantial defeat of the effort to compel a report. He then introduced a bill appropriating fifty-five thousand dollars for the same purpose, which was laid on the table without reference. Later in the session he succeeded in procuring the addition of the item to the civil appropriation bill, but the senate struck it out under

* The writer of this sketch desires to acknowledge a large indebtedness to this work.

menace of a veto. During the following session he secured the taking of his bill from the table, its passage in the senate and also in the house, using every personal effort to overcome the strong opposition there developed. The President withheld his signature from the bill and thus defeated it. In the thirty-sixth congress, the persistent senator's bill again made its appearance. Buchanan sent in a message February 2, assuming the position that river and harbor improvements should be made by the respective states, and that the specific work at St. Clair flats, should be done at the joint expense of Michigan and Upper Canada. The absurdity of this view is obvious, considering how trifling is the interest of Michigan in the work, when compared with the total benefit conferred.

During the remainder of the session Mr. Chandler worked constantly and vainly to secure consideration of the bill. The second session of the thirty-sixth congress faced imminent war, and the matter shared the fate of every measure of the kind, lying in abeyance until the tide of victory set northward, when it was revived, and with the aid of his colleagues, its originator easily won a victory. The canal was completed in the year 1871, and stands a splendid monument to the persistency and loyalty of its deviser.

This extended account of the history of the improvement of the St. Clair flats is defensible by reason of the importance of the work accomplished, but still more for the light it gives upon Mr. Chandler's methods. The same skill

and determination entered into every effort of his public life.

Upon questions relating to the currency, Mr. Chandler was from first to last upon the right side, and showed a profound familiarity with the economical and historical literature of the subject. He recognized the necessity of the act making "greenbacks" legal tender—a necessity involving the preservation of the government. He maintained, however, that the issue of greenbacks should be held to the lowest possible amount, and exchanged for a sounder currency at the earliest moment. He looked upon taxation as the only legitimate recourse for supplying the means of war to the government and sustaining its credit as a borrower in foreign markets. In his speeches protesting against later issues of greenbacks, he foretold their depreciation which should drive coin out of circulation and make it a commodity of speculation and, during the past decade, turned the light of the experience of the sixties upon the inflation craze of the day, with telling effect. He was an original supporter of the national banking system, both as furnishing a market for government bonds, and for its permanent excellence as a means of supplying a paper currency. He opposed the making of the United States treasury a bank of issue, worked earnestly for the resumption of specie payments and was only dissatisfied with the bill passed in 1875, which compassed that result, because he believed the time set for resumption to be unnecessarily remote.

These general principles directed his every act and word in relation to finance.

And now for the second phase of Mr. Chandler's dual career as a "business senator" and a "war senator."

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency precipitated the execution of the ripe plot of secession. South Carolina took the lead on the twelfth of November, 1860, by ordering the election of a convention to adopt an ordinance of secession, and other cotton states followed her lead very closely. Buchanan sent to congress, upon its meeting on the third day of December, a message in which he made the astounding statement that "no power to coerce into submission a state which is attempting to withdraw or has actually withdrawn from the confederacy, has been delegated to congress or any other department." South Carolina, always first in every seditious work, "withdrew" on the twentieth day of December, the Southern Confederacy was formed on the fourth day of February, the seizure, or base surrender of government forts, arsenals and other property, the defection of its military officers, the resignation of southern members of congress and of the cabinet, and the hurrying preparations on the part of the south for active war went on, while Buchanan sat inactive, and loyal men trembled lest the capital should be seized before a patriot President could be inaugurated.

Among northern people there were, at the outset, three classes—those who favored acquiescence in Buchanan's

monstrous doctrine and permitting the seceding states to peaceably withdraw; those who favored bribing them by concession to return, and those who demanded that secession should be treated as rebellion, and stamped out thoroughly and at once. Mr. Chandler belonged heart and soul to the third class. He had foreseen secession for three years, while many others preferred to regard the threats of disunionists as idle bluster. When the act of secession came, and the first state, arms in hand, announced itself severed from the Union, he considered the act of rebellion complete. It did not need the repeated thefts of government property that followed, or the firing on Sumter to constitute an "overt act." Had a Jackson sat in the chair disgraced by Buchanan, South Carolina would again have received prompt and effective discipline, and with the full approval of the Michigan senator.

He arose at once to the emergency, and men instinctively stood aside to give place to the natural leader whom the occasion had raised up. He strained every effort to unite and arouse the north; he spoke rarely in the senate during the winter of 1860-61, but in the private conferences of the friends of freedom was hourly at work, urging a stern and prompt suppression of the rebellion and punishment of the traitors. He afterward said that could he have had his way no man who proclaimed treason on the floor of the senate should have gone free from the capitol.

It was in these trying days, while straining every nerve to defeat the plans

of the leaders of rebellion, that Mr. Chandler formed a friendship for Edwin M. Stanton, then attorney-general in Buchanan's cabinet, but loyally working to arouse the President to a sense of his duty. This friendship grew with every day. During Stanton's incumbency of the war department, Mr. Chandler was one of the few men who never hesitated to approach him in any mood, nor feared to address him in plain English at all times. He had much to do, also, with securing for him the appointment to the supreme bench, which came to him as he lay upon his death-bed, having burned out his life in magnificent service to the government.

He imbibed, at the same time, a distrust of Senator Seward's firmness and wisdom, which grew to dislike in later years, and he always deemed both his distrust and dislike to have been fully vindicated by events.

Whenever Mr. Chandler did speak during that momentous session of the senate, it was to assail treason and its promoters with the crushing force of which he was peculiarly the master. He denounced "traitors in the cabinet and imbeciles in the President's chair" with no effort at euphemism. He opposed the so-called Crittenden compromise, and condemned the peace congress, called at the suggestion of Virginia sympathizers with the south, for the procuring of peace with any sacrifice of

honor. Largely through his influence Michigan was one of the five northern states which took no part in this gathering, but when, as its deliberations neared a close, and there was fear that it might reach some damaging conclusion, it seemed desirable to strengthen the number of uncompromising Union men in its membership, he and Kinsley S. Bingham, his colleague, transmitted by telegraph to Governor Blair the request of prominent loyal men, that the Michigan legislature should send a delegation to the congress. Mr. Chandler supplemented his dispatch with the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 11, 1861.

My Dear Sir: Governor Bingham and myself telegraphed you on Saturday, at the request of Massachusetts and New York, to send delegates to the peace or compromise congress. They admit that we were right and they were wrong; that no Republican states should have sent delegates, but they are here and cannot get away. Ohio, Indiana and Rhode Island are caving in, and there is danger of Illinois; and now they beg of us, for God's sake, to come to their rescue and save the Republican party from rupture. I hope you will send *stiff-backed* men or none. The whole thing was gotten up against my judgment and advice, and will end in thin smoke. Still I hope, as a matter of courtesy to some of our erring brethren, that you will send the delegates.

Truly your friend,

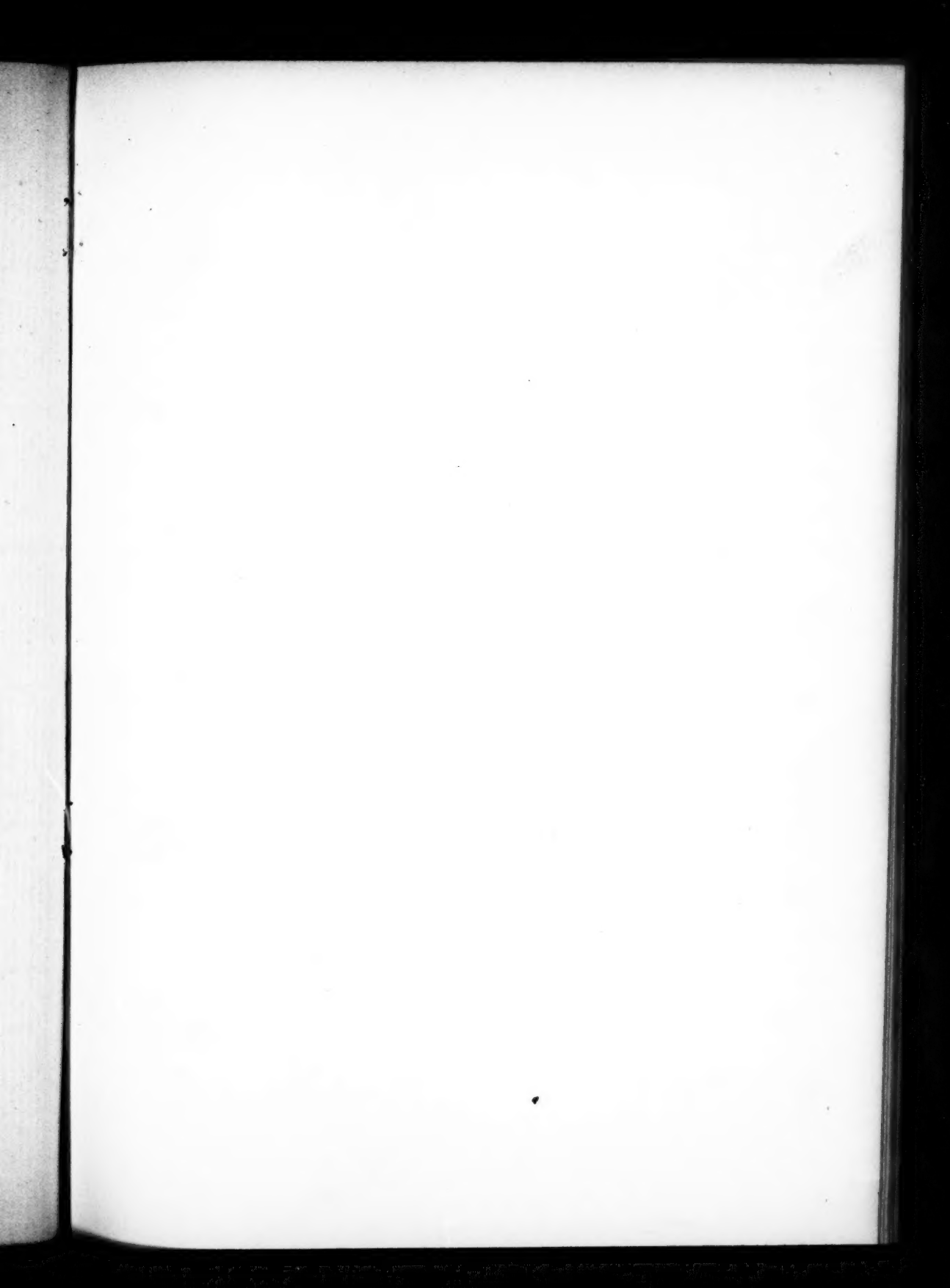
Z. CHANDLER.

His Excellency Austin Blair.

P. S. Some of the manufacturing states think that a fight would be awful. Without a little blood-letting, this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush.

WALTER BUELL.

[To be Continued.]





L. N. Bragton, M.D.

DR. S. N. BRAYTON.

DR. S. N. BRAYTON, of Buffalo, is illustrating in his life and experience the fact that when native worth and natural ability are wedded to industry and devotion to one's life work, the highest form of success is secured; and that this holds good with an especial force in a professional career. He long since won a prominent place among the medical men of New York, and every year that passes adds to his reputation, and the circle of his usefulness. He is one whose course upward has been won by his own efforts, and the putting forth in a manly manner of the strength with which he was endowed. He was born on the eleventh of January, 1839, at Queensbury, Warren county, New York, where his father, Moses Brayton, had been born and reared to the life of the farm. He traces the family line back through New England, to the seventeenth century, when three brothers of the name came from England, near the time of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. They settled in different sections of New England, and their descendants may now be found in various portions of the Union.

Dr. Brayton's early life was that of a farmer's boy of near half a century ago. His childhood was spent in such rural pursuits and pleasures as fall to the lot

of the average country boy. He gave his winters to the district school and his summers to light farm work until he was fourteen, when he entered the high school at Lawrence, Massachusetts, where he received a classical education. Having determined to give his life to the medical profession, on leaving school he entered the office of the late Walter Burnham, M. D., of Lowell, Massachusetts, as a medical student. Upon the conclusion of his preliminary studies he attended the regular lecture course at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, the medical department of Columbia college, New York, from which institute he graduated with a high rank in his class, in 1861. While attending these lectures he was employed as a physician and surgeon in a hospital on Sixty-fifth street, New York, where first-class opportunity was offered for a practical application of the theories he had learned in the books, and the knowledge he had gained from oral instruction.

Almost the first act of Dr. Brayton, on taking a place in his profession, was to offer his service to the cause of his country. In 1861 he entered the navy of the United States as an assistant surgeon in the regular service, and was assigned to duty in the Boston

navy yard. He was soon afterward transferred to the United States frigate *Sabine*, and subsequently to the ironclad *Montauk* that played so conspicuous a part in the War of the Rebellion. She was the third monitor constructed by the government, and was in some of the hottest contests of the war. She it was that destroyed the *Nashville*, one of the most powerful and formidable of the rebel gunboats. On the day on which this great feat was accomplished, and as she was returning down the Ogeechee river, she was struck by a torpedo, disabling her so that if the tide had not been running out, while she was near a mud bank, she would have been sunk and her crew fallen into the hands of the enemy. But by good fortune she settled in the mud, which allowed sufficient time for repairs. When the tide turned she was enabled to float off and proceed to Port Royal, where a plate five feet square was riveted over the broken plates at the place where the torpedo had burst. Dr. Brayton was on board during that memorable engagement and the subsequent disaster. He was also on duty in the eight months naval contests with forts Moultrie and Sumter, off Charleston harbor.

The devoted and continued service Dr. Brayton gave during this long and trying period in a southern climate, told on him, and his health became so impaired that he was ordered home for rest and recuperation. After a respite of some three months, he was detailed to service in the Pacific ocean on board the frigates *St. Mary* and *Cyane*, where he remained two years. While in this

service he visited Peru, Chili, Central America, and Mexico at the time of Maximilian's invasion. He was afforded an excellent opportunity for comparing the medical and surgical treatment of diseases in these far countries with that of his own land. In the low lands of Mexico, the intermittent fever was of such a malignant character while he was there, that many surgeons of other vessels reported it as a true type of yellow fever. It broke out on the sloop of war *Cyane*, Dr. Brayton's vessel, and out of a ship's company of one hundred and forty men and officers, one hundred were on the sick list in less than two weeks, and whoever suffered from it turned as yellow as gold. It so crippled the crew that the vessel was unable to put to sea for several weeks.

While his vessel was in the harbor of Panama an epidemic of small-pox was prevailing on shore, and as no medical treatment was used by the natives—incantations taking its place—the death rate was even far greater than that of Montreal during the recent epidemic, and it was not to be wondered at that the disease soon broke out on shipboard, notwithstanding all possible precautions. As soon as a man was discovered in its grasp he was removed to an island near by and placed in a tent in perfect isolation from his shipmates. This fresh air treatment, together with a little medicine, was so efficacious that only one man of those attacked died. The experience Dr. Brayton gained in this service, and that which preceded it, has been of the greatest value to him in the practice of his profession, while his

broadened acquaintance with the great world has ever been a source of pleasure and profit, not only to himself but to those thrown into his companionship.

At the conclusion of his service on the Pacific, Dr. Brayton made arrangements for joining a squadron for a cruise in the Mediterranean and in other foreign waters, but before the plan was carried into operation a business opportunity presented itself of which he decided to make use. He resigned his position in the navy and engaged in the drug business in New York, at the same time carrying on the practice of medicine. He continued therein for a year, when he disposed of his business in the city and established himself at Honeoye Falls, Monroe county, New York, where he gave himself up in earnest to the practice of his profession. The ten years of provincial practice that followed was of great assistance to him and was a valuable experience; but he came to see the need of a broader field for the exercise of the powers he felt to be within him. In 1877 he removed to Buffalo, where he formed a co-partnership with Dr. Hubbard Foster, which continued for about a year, when he succeeded to the business of the firm, and has since conducted it alone.

While he has made his profession the great aim of his life, he has sought to be of public service where he could without interfering with that high desire. He was one of the incorporators of the Buffalo College of Physicians and Surgeons, and upon the establishment of that institution became a member of its

faculty as professor of the theory and practice of medicine. In 1881 he was promoted to the rank of dean of the college. He is a member of the New York State Homeopathic Medical society, and also of the Western New York Homeopathic Medical society. While he has been styled a homeopathist since 1868, he has not forgotten his early teaching, and so blends the two schools of medicine that he considers his success in the treatment of diseases far greater than he could obtain by using either system alone. Holding this belief, he has written many articles for the medical press in advocacy thereof. In fact, his pen has been busy many times in the letting of light into the world, and he has sent forth a number of articles of value. He had for some time editorial charge of the Physicians and Surgeons Investigator, a monthly journal of medicine and surgery that is published as the organ of the homeopathists of Buffalo. This journal is now in its sixth volume, and its able and well filled pages speak in many ways of the help it has had from Dr. Brayton's skilled judgment and able pen.

Dr. Brayton stands in the front rank of his profession in western New York, and all who know him concede that he has well earned the success he has achieved. He is one of the busy men of Buffalo. He has given especial study and attention to ovarian difficulties, with very great success. He has performed all the capital operations, and has widened his reputation and usefulness with every year that has passed. He has given his whole life to

his profession, and has found such usefulness and rewards in that, that he has not been moved with any ambition toward public or political life. He is an enthusiastic believer in the efficacy of electricity in the treatment of chronic diseases of a non-malignant character, and uses it, probably, to a greater extent than any other physician in Buffalo. The Franklin electricity, generated by modifications of the Toëpler battery, he considers far superior to all the other batteries combined, as its effects are almost instantaneous, and permanent.

Dr. Brayton combines a fine physical presence with great mental powers, and

is one of the men whom it is a pleasure to meet, whether in a social or professional way. He is capable of great endurance, has wonderful natural forces, and the faculty of utilizing his capacities to the greatest advantage. He was married in 1868 to Miss Frances Hyslop, of Honeoye Falls, and their life together has been one of mutual confidence and happiness. Dr. Brayton is domestic in his tastes, and it is in his home that he finds his surest source of strength, and where his few hours of leisure are gladly spent. To it, and to his profession his whole life, service and heart are earnestly and loyally pledged.

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

DR. JOSEPH C. GREENE.

THE position of Dr. Joseph C. Greene in the medical and municipal life of Buffalo is such that any mention of the men who have made the city what it is without reference to him would be incomplete. While he has worked steadily through many years for the good of his fellows and the welfare of the chosen city of his home, he has done so quietly, and sought rather to make himself felt through his works than his words. He is a self-made man in the best meaning of that term, and enjoys not only the confidence but the respect of the community in which he dwells.

Dr. Greene was born in Lincoln, Vermont, on July 31, 1829. His family

was of the best New England stock, and members of it have from time to time made their mark in the stirring scenes of colonial history. The paternal line runs back to Samuel Greene, a native of England who emigrated to America in 1630, and made his home in Boston. Among his descendants was Isaiah Greene who settled in Kensington, New Hampshire, and afterwards removed to Ware, of the same state. His son Simeon was in turn the father of Stephen S. Greene who removed from New Hampshire in 1827, and settled in Vermont. In the year following he was married to Lydia Chase, a daughter of Joseph Chase of Starksboro, a prominent min-



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ister of the Society of Friends, and a descendant of one of the early Holland settlers of New York. To this couple twelve children were born, of whom Joseph, the subject of this sketch, was eldest. The first sixteen years of his life were spent in that finest school of preparation that could be opened to any boy who desired to grow to a fine physical and mental manhood—the summer work of a New England farm, and the winter work in a New England common school. The youth made the most of his chances. Mind and ambition grew with his bodily growth, and from the first he gave evidence of the results that were to be. His taste for knowledge was such, and so good were the uses he made of his chances, that his parents wisely decided to give him a thorough education. In 1845 they sent him to an excellent boarding school at Nine Partners, Dutchess county, where he obtained a liberal education, and from which he graduated with honor. His personal tastes led him to choose medicine as a profession, and the eminence he has won therein justifies the wisdom of that choice. He became a student of Dr. Hugh Taggart of Hinesburgh, who was one of the leading physicians of western Vermont. After this preparatory office-work he attended regular lectures at the Woodstock and Castleton school of medicine, and subsequently matriculated at the Albany Medical college. In June, 1855, he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. Imbued with a desire to make his preparation thorough, he went to New York city after receiving his di-

ploma, and attended clinics for a time in the various hospitals of that city, or took what is known as a polyclinic course. In 1856 he returned to his native state of Vermont, and began practice in the village of Charlotte. He remained there seven years, growing in experience, and adding to his store of knowledge by keen observation and close study. In 1863 he decided to seek a broader field for his energy and talents, and accordingly removed to Buffalo, and finding the place congenial and fruitful, made it his permanent home. His advance has been steady from the first, and both as physician and man he stands high in public repute, and has won success in every meaning of the term. His practice has grown into an extensive and remunerative one, and he finds his time and hands fully occupied. Among his professional brethren he holds a place due to his talents and manly character. He is a member and ex-president of the Erie County Medical society; is a member and also ex-president of the Buffalo Medical union; is a permanent member and vice-president of the New York State Medical association, and president of the fourth branch of the last named, comprising fourteen counties of western New York. Dr. Greene is also a member of the Buffalo Microscopical society, of the American Microscopical society, of the Buffalo Historical society, and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In all these associations his personal and official influence has ever been used to advance the great objects for which they were

created, and to make them effective instruments for the good of man.

Dr. Greene has found time amid the many demands of his profession to aid the public of Buffalo in several direct and practical ways. In 1873 and 1874 he filled the office of district physician to the Buffalo board of health. Having always taken a deep interest in municipal affairs, he was nominated in 1884 by the Republicans to the position of alderman. Being elected to that responsible trust he entered on the discharge of his duties on January 1, 1885, and is now serving the public in that capacity. In the common council he has proved himself a wise and capable legislator. Keenly alive to the interests of his immediate constituents and of the general public, and unalterably opposed to all forms of trickery and jobbery, he has already been of great public service and will add thereto even greater results in the future. As one of scholarly attainments and having a deep interest in the cause of education, his appointment to the important position of chairman of the committee on schools was universally recognized as a proper and wise movement. In that office, which places him officially at the head of the Buffalo school system, Dr. Greene has been able to do most timely and excellent work for the public schools.

Although professional cares have kept Dr. Greene out of politics, he has always done all that lay in his power for the Republican party, and is known to all as a warm and earnest supporter of its principles. In many directions

he has touched with good results the public and social life of Buffalo and western New York. He was a member of the building committee of the Young Men's Christian association of Buffalo. He has for years been a prominent Mason, being a Knight Templar and also of the thirty-second degree of the Scottish rite. He is a leading member of the Acadia club of Buffalo, and takes a leading part in the matter of literary culture. He was married on September 21, 1856, to a daughter of William and Anna Taggart. Three children were born to them—Dr. De Witt C. Greene, now a practicing physician, and district physician of Buffalo, who married Miss Julia M. Gates of Medina, New York, June 10, 1885; Anna Adelaide, the wife of Edward Andrews, a well-known Buffalo lawyer, and Julia Delphine, who is yet in school. Dr. Greene's beloved companion was removed by death on October 15, 1882.

To give some degree of completeness to this brief sketch of Dr. Greene's career, we append the following description of his personal traits and analysis of his mental and moral endowments by a well-known citizen of Buffalo, who has been in such relations with the doctor, for over twenty years, as to afford him the amplest opportunity for a thorough study and knowledge of his character:

In person Dr. Greene is large and massive. He has always enjoyed almost perfect health, and possesses the ability to undergo almost any amount of labor and fatigue. His robust and ample physical frame is the fitting expo-

ment of his most characteristic intellectual and moral traits.

Largeness and strength are his leading mental endowments. He has an unusual grasp and sweep of thought, and never fails to "take in" any subject submitted to his investigation.

His robust and comprehensive common sense not only renders him proof against deception, but wise in counsel, skillful in planning, and unerring in the choice of means and employment of expedients. Although somewhat inclined to conservatism, there is not the least taint of "old fogyism" about him. He is self-poised and deliberate; nothing throws him off his base. He is a natural leader of men, and in his connection with deliberative bodies his associates highly respect his advice and judgment.

As a friend, Dr. Greene's adhesion and reliability are unconquerable. He is incapable of anything like a betrayal of friendship. Through thick and thin he stands by those to whom he has given his confidence and his pledges. His hospitality is unbounded, and the breadth of his sympathies unlimited. As a physician he is in the main cau-

tious, yet in an emergency self-possessed and full of resources. He possesses as a "gift" the intuitive eye-glance into the causes and seat of diseases, without which no amount of study or experience will make one a great and skillful practitioner.

In diagnosing it is rare that his sagacity is at fault, and so he is seldom or never at a loss to know "what to do" for his patients.

Dr. Greene has given to certain diseases close and special attention, and has worked out for them peculiar and independent modes of successful treatment. In consultation the doctor has, in a marked degree, the confidence and respect of his professional brethren. For this purpose his services are eagerly sought from near and far, and his judgment on such occasions is generally sound, and his advice usually followed.

Dr. Greene is now in the full maturity of his powers, and, with health unbroken, with unflagging physical and mental strength, and energy unabated, he and his friends may reasonably look forward to his enjoyment of many years of still increasing usefulness and honor.

JAMES HENRY SEYMOUR.

DR. O. W. SADLER.

DR. OREN WINSLOW SADLER of Pittsburgh, although yet on the sunny side of fifty, has won a success and a standing in his profession that come to few; and the good he has done in the past and is doing in the present, may be regarded as but an earnest of his larger usefulness in the future. He has that rare gift, the full courage of his convictions, and, like many others, has been compelled to work out the problem of his life amid difficulties placed there by others, and against opposition as needless as it was unjust. There cannot but be points of interest in that life, which is here briefly detailed.

Dr. Sadler first saw the light of day in Brewerton, Onondago county, New York, on January 2, 1843. He traces his ancestry back through an excellent New England family to an old England stock, John Sadler coming across the ocean and settling in Massachusetts about the first of the last century, while other members of the family are known to have arrived at even an earlier date. Dr. Sadler has in his possession a number of heirlooms in which he takes no small pride, as some of them date back to the *Mayflower* herself. William Sadler, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, with three brothers, Scott, Giles and Arteus, in 1820 settled near Onondaga lake, near the then small village

of Syracuse; the country roundabout being a wilderness. They came of a sturdy and resolute race that hardships could not dismay, nor the dangers of the pioneer days frighten. With resolution and devotion they began the long labor with the forests, and hewed out for themselves homes, and made the wilderness to blossom as the rose. Dr. Sadler's father, William Dexter Sadler, grew to manhood amid hardships and the privations allotted to the early settlers' sons, yet through the efforts of a noble mother, he was enabled to receive a fair education. At the age of twenty-five, he was married to Nancy Spire, the daughter of one of the neighboring farmers.

When Dr. Sadler was but three years of age, his father, with the pioneer spirit inherited from his ancestors, removed to Millburn, Lake county, Illinois, going by the Erie canal and great lakes to Kenasha, Wisconsin. Here he built him a new home by hard work and indomitable energy, and by the continued labor of years, secured a comfortable competence, and, among other good results, was thereby enabled to send his two sons to college. The father, with his worthy wife, is still living and is doing a successful business in partnership with his son, Alphonso, in Marshalltown, Iowa.

The oldest son, Oren Winslow, spent his boyhood at home on the farm and



O. W. Sadler M.D.

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in the public schools, developing in body, mind, and an ambition to make the best possible use of the powers that he felt to be within him. After attending school for some time, he in turn taught and afterwards gave some time to a commercial college. He tried one year of business life, but found that he had not been born for a career of that character. After some serious thought and investigation he was more and more decided that his natural desire for a medical life was an indication of the direction in which his life work should be performed. Accordingly on April 1, 1865, he was duly installed as a student of medicine in the office of D. B. Taylor, M. D., a skillful practitioner, who was devoted to his profession and his practice, and who gave excellent help to the young man under his direction. From thirteen to sixteen hours per day poring over anatomy, materia medica, chemistry, and the medical dictionary, kept the young man employed and gave him a foundation of depth and breadth upon which to build. After a thorough summer's work of this character he entered the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, where he attended every lecture and "quiz," and worked a full course of analytical chemistry in the laboratory—one of the most thorough in the United States, and was granted a diploma. Then came another year of office study, when he entered the Chicago Medical school—the first one in the United States that raised its term of lectures from four to five months. He made this choice because he hoped to find there carried

out his principle of thoroughness, rather than to look for it in those colleges that bid for students by an offer of short terms and an easy graduation. Although there was no chair of ophthalmology in the college, a course of clinical lectures was given at the Cook County hospital near by, by Joseph S. Hildreth, who had been a student of the most eminent ophthalmologists of Europe, and who had been in charge of the eye department of the United States Army hospital in Chicago during the war. The course was optional, and though the earnest young student did not neglect the other branches, he employed many extra hours on the eye, and was among the nine of thirteen who passed a successful examination, and received the extra diploma of the chartered eye and ear infirmary, in addition to the regular one of M. D. from the college on commencement day.

After graduation Dr. Sadler settled in Dodge county, Minnesota, and was successful from the very first. At a meeting of the Minnesota State Medical society, held at Owatonna, he was elected a member, and upon organization of the Dodge County Medical society, at Mantorville, he was made its secretary. The wisdom of his choice in making medicine and surgery his life work, was soon justified in the standing he took in that profession and the results that followed his early efforts. Some very serious cases fell into his hands, and the skill that was evinced by their recovery heralded his fame abroad and widened and extended his practice. It was here that he won his

first honors in surgery. After a difficult and dangerous operation a physician who had assisted, although retired from active practice, remarked of him, "He dare do anything." The seeming daring, however, did not come through recklessness, but from a thorough knowledge of what was to be done, and how to do it. Anatomical geography of man is the foundation of courage in surgery. A student once asked an eminent professor of surgery, "What can a doctor do to give him courage and steady his hand in important and dangerous operations?"

"Study your anatomy," was the terse and forceful answer.

Professor Ford, the anatomist, once said: "He who wishes to be a good surgeon must know his anatomy so well that the location of all parts are as plain to his mind's eye as if a man were made of glass, and every part be seen in its place."

Dr. Sadler's knowledge of eye surgery had been kept in practice, and through its delicacy, its certainty of condition and rational treatment, added to the certainty of brilliant results when scientifically understood and skillfully managed, proved more to his taste than any other branch of medicine. With an ambition for a larger field for his chosen specialties and growing powers, he decided to move to the east. He chose Titusville, Pennsylvania, then the centre of the great oil regions, and in 1872 the transfer was made, and he commenced practice in the new field. The question as to the character of his practice urged itself more and more upon his thoughts,

and he gave it some serious consideration. The idea of "specialists" was then hardly known, except in large cities, and a chair of opthalmic and aural surgery in the colleges was unknown, except in two or three instances. How to secure practice was the great question that confronted him. To visit the doctors from office to office to announce his purpose and solicit their support and contribution of that part of their business, smacked, as he thought, too much of conceit and beggary—was derogatory to his sense of "dignity and honor"—a course, it may be said, that is the one "honorable" method recognized by the code-loving part of the profession. The only uncensurable method under the code was to enter society, contribute to its needs and fancies, and, where opportunity offered, pose as an oculist and aurist—a course that would have outraged his sense of self-respect and good taste. Young, educated under the code, living up to its teachings and practicing its precepts, what course seemed to be left but—to adopt a phrase that will be understood—to—"wait and grow up with the country?" Yes, wait until the public in its desperation should search up and down for that modest, code-like genius hid under a bushel, and drag him out to the light of a suffering world.

"Announce your business modestly and truthfully through the public press," suggested a friend (Dr. Sibbit) as a sensible way out of the maze of difficulty.

Yes, was the answer in substance if not in words, but that is advertising, and

advertising is "derogatory to the dignity and honor of the profession." "I can do nothing so 'dishonorable' as that," said he.

But this thought forced its way to the front in spite of all: The code—what is it? A set of rules and by-laws adopted by a body of medical men for the government and regulation of members of that body. 'It asserts no new law or principle, moral or social, binding on all men, but merely the rule of action for a brotherhood. When it asserts that it is "derogatory to the dignity and honor of the profession" to advertise, that statement applies only to those who are in the society by which it was adopted. It does not assert an abstract truth of all doctors, but an assumed rule of action to all members of that society. Consequently, to advertise does not violate a moral law of right or justice; but the member of the society who does so, violates his agreement with that society, and in this violation lies the dishonor. To illustrate this point more clearly: A person who has withdrawn from a church organization is no longer bound by the distinctive doctrines or regulations of that creed, and may do any act not in itself derogatory to the character of a Christian, whether sanctioned or not by the society from which, in the exercise of his right of judgment, he has formally withdrawn, and still be as true a Christian as the strictest of any sect.

The result of this train of thought and the outcome of its conclusion was that Dr. Sadler sent in his resignation to the society, received an honorable release

therefrom by its acceptance, and then followed his own sense of propriety as to what he should do. He modestly and independently announced his business and the location of his office in the morning papers, and before ten o'clock of the same day treated his first patients in his new field; and before night a young man, blind and suffering for months, was under his care, and to-day blesses him for that terse notice in the morning papers. Advertising opened the natural channels of business and success. After two and a half years of successful labors in Titusville, and on the decline of the oil fields about it, he determined to seek a still larger field, and on February 18, 1874, removed to Pittsburgh, which city has since been his home. The change of location certainly proved itself a wise one. He realized that in a populous community he would be able to command a patronage commensurate with his professional skill, and accomplish more for himself and for suffering humanity. Untrammelled in his new field, he entered upon a career of usefulness and success which has rarely been equaled anywhere. In the midst of a great working community in which diseases of the eye and ear were common, he soon drew to his office scores of persons of moderate means, and as his fame spread abroad through the publication of the cures he had effected, men and women of the highest intelligence and social position became his patrons. Whatever criticism he has encountered from the "regulars" may be summed up in the phrase "he advertises." It is not

alleged that he is unskillful or unsuccessful, but that he violates the code of ethics, which, as we have shown, is not binding upon him, as he is no longer a member of their society, but their hostility has long since ceased to trouble him, and he has uniformly held his position at the head of the profession in the class of diseases treated by him. He has steadily gained in public confidence and regard, and to-day he stands without a competitor in western Pennsylvania, some of his cures bordering on the marvelous. By way of supporting the principle of advertising, it may be remarked that he has been the recipient of the most grateful and touching acknowledgments from patients who have not hesitated to say that they were saved from total blindness through having read the remarkable results of his skill in the newspapers.

It is doubtful whether any man ever gained distinction in any department of art and science without the incentive born of professional enthusiasm. A leading characteristic of Dr. Sadler is his devotion to those branches of surgery in which he has become so proficient. He is a close and untiring student, and his wide research, combined with that genius which seems intuitive with the favored few, has given him a national reputation. One of his greatest commendations is the stability of his habits. He is strictly temperate in all things, and scrupulously avoids whatever might in the least degree tend to retard or render uncertain the most rapid and delicate operations. Thus, he at all times possesses a clear head

and steady hand. As to his medical opinions, they are always based on a thorough examination, and while they may not always be correct, the patient has the benefit of his honest convictions. Never laying claim to infallibility, he deals frankly with those who seek his advice, and makes it a rule never to "nurse" cases that are hopeless.

In constructing an eye and ear infirmary in connection with his residence, Dr. Sadler's object was to increase his facilities for doing a larger business and rendering his operations more successful. With the class of patients requiring most careful treatment after operations, under his immediate care in his own house, his opportunities for effecting a speedy and perfect cure are greatly enhanced. A special correspondent of the New York *Graphic*, who accompanied a description of the residence and grounds with a very fine illustration, thus speaks of the place:

It is located on Mt. Washington, at a height of four hundred and fifty feet above the din and confusion of the busy streets. The doctor, who stands at the head of his branch of the profession in this city, appreciating the benefit of a home for those requiring difficult operations on the eye and ear, has selected this most favorable spot for the purpose, and at an outlay of thousands of dollars has erected the palatial edifice shown in our illustration. It is built with all the latest improved conveniences. His most difficult and critical operations are performed here, where the patient remains under his care and receives the attention and homelike comforts to be attained nowhere else, and which are so necessary to success in the treatment of those delicate organs. The grounds surrounding the residence are large and beautifully decorated with trees, shrubs and flowers. The air is pure and bracing, free from the smoke and dust for which the "Smoky City" is so noted. From the observatory the views are grand in every

direction. On one side is a beautiful country, on the other two cities and the three rivers—Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio—all forming an interesting panorama. At night the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny present a tableau of inexpressible beauty and magnificence. The innumerable electric and gas lights, stretching for miles over the low hills, the many varied colored lights on the steamers plying the river and anchored at the wharves, the fierce flames leaping high above the house tops from the stacks of the numerous furnaces, and natural gas escapes and mills along the three river banks present a sight of grandeur and beauty not to be seen elsewhere in this country.

Dr. Sadler has been blest in his domestic as well as his professional life. At the age of twenty-four he married Miss Josephine E. Slocum, daughter of George W. Slocum, now a resident of Mantorville, Minnesota. She is also of New England stock, her father's family being among the first settlers of Rhode Island. Both of her grandfathers were pioneers of western Pennsylvania, settling in Crawford county, near Conneautville, where an uncle, Hon. Frank Mantor, now resides. Mrs. Sadler has proved herself a noble and helpful wife in every meaning of the term, and her husband never enters upon any new project without first advising with her, and he attributes a large share of his success to her wise and comprehensive judgment. Educated, cultured, and a friend to those in need, her sympathetic nature and cheerful ways have strengthened many a fainting heart of those who through blindness have been brought into the influence of her household. A lovely little daughter and two sons add the sunlight of life and complete the domestic happiness.

Dr. Sadler's position with reference

to the needs and duties of his profession has received endorsement of a cordial character from the people and press of Pennsylvania, and many facts might be adduced in proof of that assertion. The *Pittsburgh Post*, in a solid and serious argument on the question above discussed, remarks that "Dr. Sadler has performed some extraordinary cures in difficult cases, and he has made the facts known through the newspapers; his remedies are not of the quack character or his advertisements sensational or in violation of the canon of good taste." Another Pittsburgh newspaper editorially makes a neat and sharp point on the opposition when it says that "Dr. Sadler is rather unprofessional in the eyes of some of his brethren, not that they deny his skill as an oculist for this they do not and cannot, but because he makes a liberal use of printer's ink, and pays for it. As a rather interesting rejoinder to this objection he has a very large scrap-book in his office filled with notices which other sons of Esculapias have obtained from newspapers without paying for them, and he suggests the rather pertinent question: Which is the most professional, to pay or not to pay?" Another tribute from a like source says: "Dr. Sadler does a legitimate business, and is 'honorable' enough to pay for his advertising, relying upon no one but himself for his success in his profession, and asking gratuitous notices from none. That he is successful and has the ability to perform the most difficult and delicate operations upon the eye and ear, the many cases that have come under

our personal observation leave no room for doubt."

The above quotations might be continued by the score, and very many instances could be furnished in proof of all that has been claimed for Dr. Sadler's skill. But a continuation is needless. The success he has won and the endless amount of good he has been enabled to accomplish, because he was brave enough to mark out a path

for himself and walk therein, are the best possible justification of his course. Although yet young in years, he is old in experience and has won a substantial reputation. Time will more and more justify his course, and the day is not far distant when others who now sneer at his methods may for very self preservation be driven to the necessity of adopting them.

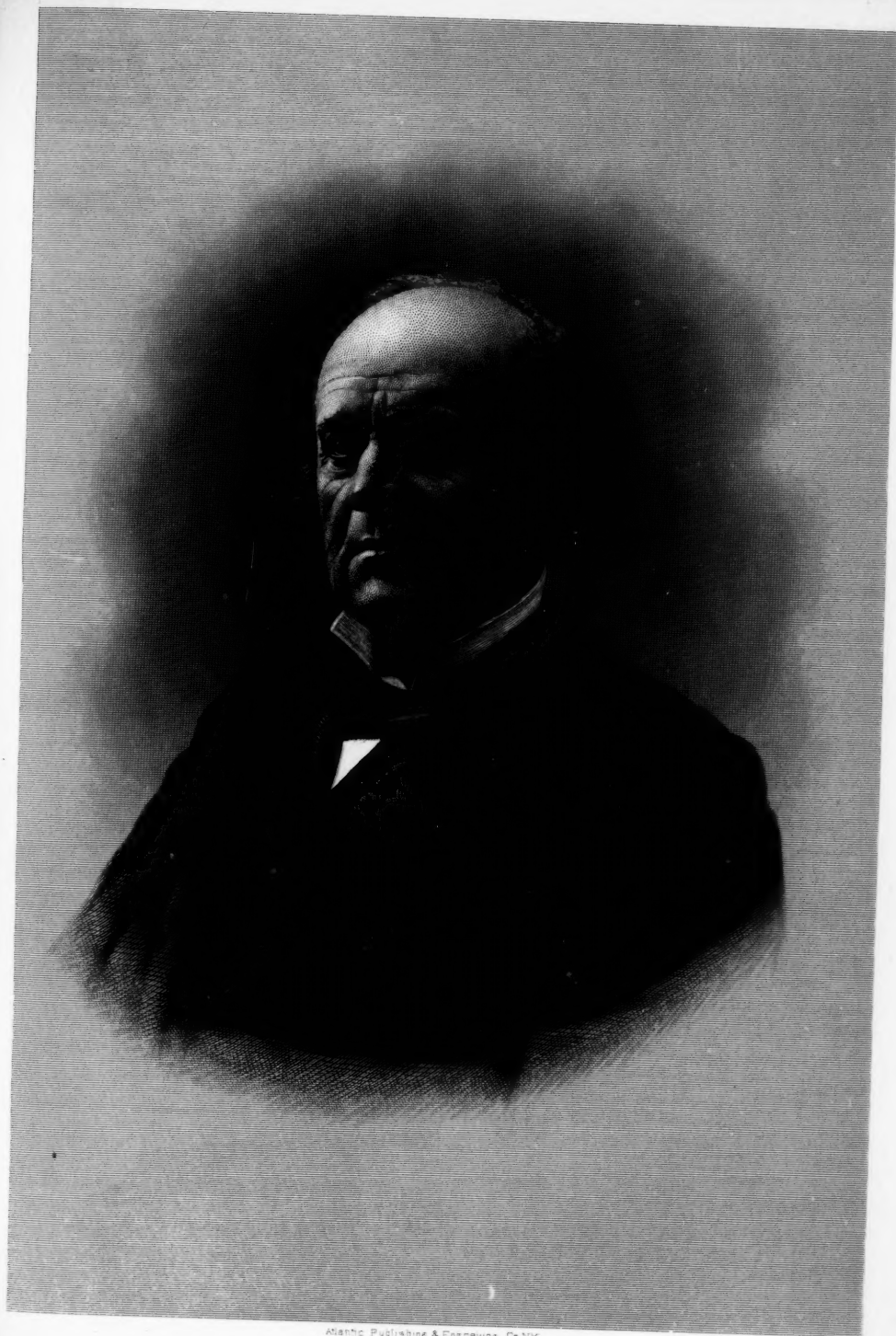
WILLIAM ANDERSON.

HON. DAVID S. BENNETT.

WHEN the commercial history of Buffalo comes to be written, many things of surprising interest will be brought to light, and the fact be made plain that nowhere among the cities that came into being with this century was one built on broader or more enduring foundations; or that from its location gave a more certain promise for the future. Situate upon the spot where the great western lakes find their only outlet toward the sea, and in the midst of a country full of promise and natural resources, its founders knew from the first that they had made no mistake, and every year that has passed between their time and ours but justifies the more the step so early taken. And when that history is written, much credit will have to be given to the men of courage, brains and energy, who, in the early days and in those of later times, have worked in season and out to make the city what it is, and to give it not

only a name for business enterprise but business integrity as well.

When the struggling little village was burned by the British in 1813, the disaster was not great enough to daunt the spirit of its people. They set to work with a determined energy, as soon as circumstances would allow, and from 1816 onward the growth of the place was permanent and sure. In 1823 the harbor was permanently opened and a pier constructed. This gave the place a commercial importance it had not possessed before. The year 1825 was probably one of the most important the city had witnessed, as it marked the opening of the Erie canal. The city then possessed a population of two thousand four hundred and twelve, but the addition of this new water highway toward the east gave it a new impetus, and by 1830 there were eight thousand six hundred and sixty-eight people within her borders. The panic of 1837



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was the first backset received, but even its effects were overcome and Buffalo again found itself on the road to prosperity. The period from 1847 to 1857 was one of stirring events and business activity. "At that time," says one writer, "it was essentially a maritime town. Its harbor was serviceable, but narrow and inconvenient; and the frequent arrivals and departures crowded the narrow waterway, so as to give an air of wonderful life and activity to the region of the wharves. Passenger steamboats were in their glory." At the beginning of the above named period a new factor came into the field, and, when successfully established, was a most important adjunct to the handling of Buffalo's commerce. "The grain elevator, invented about 1780 by Oliver Evans, had been heretofore only used for the handling of grain in flour-mills, and in loading and unloading vessels a vast number of longshoremen were necessary to properly facilitate the transmission. The grain elevator was first applied to the uses of commerce in 1842, and to Buffalo belongs the honor of its adaptation to the trans-shipment of grain from lake vessels to warehouses or canal boats. One of her citizens, Joseph Dart, was the first to erect a steam elevator for commercial purposes."

The year 1851 began with a remarkable increase of prosperity for the city. The great west had commenced to pour its products lavishly into the east, and this port became one of the main gateways through which the transfer was made. From six millions of bushels,

which was the receipt of grain in 1850, it rose to twenty millions in 1855, while every dock and wharf was crowded with commerce of a miscellaneous character. The lakes, the canal and railroads all gave their contributions to the growing stream. Buildings were erected with wonderful rapidity, and whole streets sprang into existence as if in a day. There was work for all, and newcomers crowded in from all directions. From a population of thirty-two thousand one hundred and fifty-three in 1850, it sprang to the wonderful advance of seventy-four thousand four hundred and fourteen in 1855. From the last named date to 1860 affairs were at a standstill, but the city soon after took a new start, and from thence has royally held its own. Of the point to which it has at last reached as a commercial factor, let the following, written only a year ago, stand as witness:

Commercially much could be written of Buffalo. At this port grain is received, transferred, stored and forwarded with greater dispatch than at any other in this country. The river for about a mile from its mouth is lined with immense elevators and floaters, provided with all of the most improved appliances for handling cereals. At the beginning of the present year there were twenty-two elevators, ten transfer elevators and six floaters—thirty-eight in all—most of which are massive structures, costing in the aggregate about six million dollars. Their combined storage capacity is three million one hundred and two thousand bushels. That is to say, the elevators of Buffalo are capable of receiving from lake vessels and transferring to canal boats and cars daily three million bushels of grain if called upon to do so. Several of these elevators have machinery attached whereby sixty thousand to seventy thousand bushels of wet or damaged grain can be dried every twenty-four hours. The grain trade has steadily increased for years. The season's receipt for 1880 were the largest on record, aggregating, *Lake and Lake*

Shore & Michigan Southern railroad, 175,000,000 bushels; those of 1883 were 101,122,705 bushels. The facilities for forwarding this vast amount of grain were as extensive as the terminal facilities.

There are many men who have done much for Buffalo, and have nobly labored to make it the great factor in the world's progress that it is to-day. Credit has been fully awarded in these pages to some, and there are others who will be spoken of in the future. In this instance the record of one of these workers is referred to. In the Hon. David S. Bennett, Buffalo has found one of her truest and most valorous champions; one of her most earnest and sturdy defenders; and for her future he has hoped, and planned, and dreamed when others were silent or opposed when they should have given help. The direction and manner of his labor can be discovered in that which follows:

Mr. Bennett had the advantage of an excellent parentage, his father being one of those enterprising sons of New England who early saw the advantage to be gained by a removal from the stony fields of his native state to the fertile valleys and plains of central New York. James Bennett was of Connecticut growth, but removed in his early manhood to Onondaga county, where by his own energy and thrift he secured a handsome property. The subject of this sketch was born on a farm, the youngest but one of a large family. The wilderness roundabout had been largely cleared off by that time, and the advantages of civilization secured in the main. The boy had the benefit of an excellent district school

and made the most of it, being an attentive student, and making excellent progress. This was supplemented by a two years' course in the Onondaga academy. "He began life" says one biographer, "at the age of twenty-one as proprietor of a magnificent farm of two hundred acres made over to him by his industrious father, partly in anticipation or his inheritance, and partly to be paid for out of what could be raised upon it. Taking a young wife about this period, he devoted himself for four or five years to farming, meeting with great success. By various trades in land and other speculations, in the meantime he had considerably increased his means; and finally yielding to the well-defined bent of his nature, he gave up agricultural pursuits and engaged in buying and selling produce, first in Syracuse and afterwards in New York City, where the firm of Bennett, Hall & Company was organized."

In 1853 the business of the firm had so developed that the presence of one of the partners was constantly required in Buffalo. Mr. Bennett accordingly removed to that city, which has since been his home, and for whose commercial and general interests he has worked with such loyal devotion. He was found in the front rank of her business men from the first. He was one of the early elevator men, purchasing the Dart grain elevator, which, as has been said above, is believed to have been the first constructed and successfully operated in the world. This structure was supplied with approved steam machinery and the endless belt and basket contrivance for lifting grain from the holds of vessels of

every description, and may be said to have furnished the model of all those now so commonly met with in American ports. Shortly after this purchase Mr. Bennett united with the late George W. Tift in the construction of an elevator on the Ohio basin; and, at the subsequent period, in partnership with Messrs. A. Sherwood & Co., he erected another on Coit Slip. This latter construction was unfortunately destroyed by fire. The famous Bennett elevator, which cost, with its site, nearly half a million dollars, was erected by Mr. Bennett alone, and occupied in building from 1862 until 1866. The capacity of the Bennett, together with that of the Union adjoining or contiguous, which was rebuilt by Mr. Bennett, was equal to the handling of twenty millions of bushels of grain per annum, and to the storing of seven hundred thousand bushels. These elevators are still the property of Mr. Bennett.

From his earliest residence in Buffalo to the present, Mr. Bennett has been a friend to any movement whether moral, educational or material that had for its purpose the good of the city, the state, or the nation. During the war for the Union he was a persistent and conscientious supporter of the Federal government, and gave liberally of both time and money in aid of the Union cause. His patriotic zeal was unflagging, and the aggregate of his contributions towards the equipment of troops sent from the state is said to have equalled a moderate fortune. His wonderful business talents, his enterprise and success, and the great services he had

rendered in the development of Buffalo, naturally drew upon him the attention and esteem of the community, and it was not long before many overtures were made to him to allow the use of his name in connection with positions of public trust. In 1865 the Republican party, with which he had acted since its creation, placed him in nomination for state senator, to represent the Buffalo district. This result was not brought about by any movement of Mr. Bennett's, as he had little inclination for public life, but was an expression of the general desire of the people. His standing as a business man, his known interest in the advancement of Buffalo's commercial interests, his aid in the Union cause, and his great personal popularity, were all strong factors of success, and the result was that his nomination was followed by an election by an overwhelming majority. On taking his seat in the senate, he began to pay immediate attention to those questions that lay so near his heart. He gave special attention to the canal system of the state, and earnestly urged a measure for the enlargement of the locks of the Erie and Oswego canals to pass boats of six hundred tons burthen, "foretelling," as one says, "the divergence of traffic that has since been brought about as a consequence of the inadequate capacity of the boats employed." Although his earnest support of this measure did not cause its passage, because of the jealousy of the districts interested in the lateral canals, his services were of great value to his constituents and gave general satisfac-

tion. Among the measures of which he was the originator, and of which he caused the passage, was the bill reorganizing the Buffalo police department; the one founding the now flourishing State Normal school at Buffalo, and a third creating the Reformatory for boys established by the Rev. Father Hines, at Limestone Hill.

At the conclusion of his senatorial term, in 1868, there was such satisfaction with his record that much against his wishes he was compelled to accept a nomination to congress. He was accordingly elected to the Forty-first congress by a great majority, and on taking his seat was given a place on the important committee on commerce, a recognition of his knowledge and interest concerning the great commercial interests of the country. "Convinced by his experience in the New York legislature," says one writer, "that the state would undertake no measures of canal improvement liberal enough and vigorous enough to meet the pressing demands of commerce, and seeing how broadly national the question of cheap and adequate communication by water between the great lakes and the seaboard really is, Mr. Bennett boldly advanced the proposition that it should be the duty of the general government to enlarge the Erie and Oswego canals and to maintain them without tolls as free to navigation as the rivers of the Connecticut. He introduced in congress a bill to that end, and found much readiness among the representatives of the west to give it support. The committees on commerce and appropria-

tion both signified their willingness to report the bill if the state of New York, by its legislature, would indicate a disposition to accept the proffered aid. But the spirit of the New York legislature was the spirit of the dog in the manger. It would do nothing for the canals on its own part, it would suffer no one else to do anything for them. And so they were left to fall into comparative desuetude, their commerce to seek other waters, their revenues to dwindle away, until even the despairing policy of making them free will not win traffic for their decaying fleets."

Mr. Bennett was a hard-working man while in congress, honestly and earnestly laboring to do his duty not only to his constituents but to the country at large. Among other legislation introduced by him was a bill to authorize the construction of the International bridge across Niagara river; one to recommission the revenue cutters on the lakes, and to require them to go to the relief of merchant vessels in distress free of charge, against the severe opposition of the secretary of the treasury and others; and one to extend the park system of Buffalo over the grounds of Fort Porter, all of which were passed.

On the conclusion of the term for which he had been elected, Mr. Bennett refused a renomination, and has since declined all overtures looking to a return to public life. But he was by no means idle in relation to the great improvements to which he had given so much thought and such earnest support. He was thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the course he had suggested, and

worked earnestly in its aid, even after his retirement from congress. "Mr. Bennett was so full of the subject," wrote the editor of the *Buffalo Times*, only a short time ago, "and so confident that it was the true policy for the state as well as for the best interests of the canals, that he talked the matter everywhere, and was constantly impressing its importance upon the people through the press. He was found at every state convention of both political parties, urging the incorporation of a resolution in their platforms favoring his scheme. He could always find some one willing to offer the resolution, but could never get a committee on platform to which it was referred, to report upon it favorably. Things are different now. The *Courier*, *Express* and *Commercial*, vie with each other, not only in supporting the Weber bill, but in urging just what Mr. Bennett advocated seventeen years ago, which they then spurned and ridiculed. Mr. Bennett is to be congratulated, not only upon his triumph over the local press, but in seeing his pet measure so popular at present, with a fair prospect of ultimate, if not early, success."

In January last, when the Buffalo newspapers were discussing a bill that had been prepared by Colonel Weber, who represented the Buffalo district in congress, that provided for the asking of government aid for the enlargement of the New York canals, Mr. Bennett in response to some newspaper remarks, published an article in which he referred with some detail to the efforts he had made years ago to bring about that very object. As a contribution to the history

of American commerce that ought to be put in permanent form, I take the liberty of quoting a part of that history, as follows:

You will now allow me to bring to public notice, briefly, the action taken during the Forty-first congress, in which I had the honor to represent this district. On the sixteenth of February I introduced a bill asking for an appropriation of fifteen million dollars, to be applied to the payment of the canal debt of the state of New York, and the prompt enlargement and improvement of the Erie and Oswego canals. This bill was discussed freely during the first session, and a new bill introduced and referred to the committee of commerce, of which I was a member. It was unanimously reported from this committee, also from the committee of appropriations. I then forwarded it to Mr. Alberger, a member of the state legislature, asking for the passage of a joint resolution, accepting the provisions of the bill. It was stopped there by him, without any apparent reason. I allowed the bill to remain quiet in the committee until after the adjournment, simply forwarding a copy of it to the chamber of commerce in New York, which, as you know, is a body composed of commercial men of high standing. I then addressed a letter to its chairman, the late William E. Dodge, asking for a hearing at this conference. He replied promptly, naming the days of their meetings, and expressing a desire to hear me at any time. I thereupon presented the measure, and my brief argument in support of it, was received and a resolution passed, unanimously endorsing it, before they adjourned.

With such endorsement as the two committees referred to above, composed of twenty-five men from all parts of the country, and the endorsement of the chamber of commerce of the city of New York, together with the convictions of the people of the country during the last seventeen years, of the importance of the measure. I believe our present representatives from this district can pass a bill calling for an amount amply sufficient to enlarge and improve the Erie canal to the full extent of the water to supply the same; having it expressed in the bill that if promptly passed during this session, so as to give the state of New York the summer to procure the necessary materials, that it shall be completed and ready for navigation on the opening of the spring of 1887.

The above was written in January last. Mr. Bennett's present position, so far as the prompt enlargement of the Erie canal is concerned, by the general government, is that the entire west and northwest, as well as the state of New York, should be entirely outspoken upon the subject, and that it should be advocated in every state and national convention until the project is called out.

Mr. Bennett has worked for the public good in ways other than those outlined above. Seeking to establish connections by rail through the city of Buffalo, and with its numerous docks and warehouses for the general use of all railroads running thereto, he was active in organizing the Buffalo Crosstown Railway company designed "to extinguish monopoly in the railway privileges of the city." His idea of an independent organization to effect this was not adopted, and the privileges fell to the New York Central and Delaware, and Lackawanna and Western railroad companies. Another project through which Mr. Bennett sought to advance the public interests was that of tunnelling under the Niagara river—the wisdom of which will doubtless be apparent at no distant day. He is, it may truthfully be said, a born leader of public opinion. He has the faculty of looking into the future, and seeing much that is hidden from the view of other men. Broad and liberal in his views on all subjects, it is in keeping with his character that he should build "not for a day but for all time."

Mr. Bennett is a man whom it is a pleasure to know in his social and home life. As has been said, he married when

quite young. His wife, whose maiden name was Harriett A. Benham, is a daughter of Mr. Truman Benham, of Bridgewater, Oneida county, and a most worthy and amiable lady, whose high character and womanly qualities have endeared her to all who know her. In a personal sense, Mr. Bennett's main power seems to lie in the unconquerable spirit of perseverance with which his plans are pursued. He outlines a policy that he knows to be right and just, and pursues it to the end. He cannot be turned from purposes which he has once deliberately formed. To do that which he has undertaken to do, being convinced that it is a right and needful thing to do, he is lastingly pledged by the resolution of his nature. If one path to this end is closed he goes back and seeks another, but the object on which he has fixed his eye is never abandoned. He pushes toward it through all obstacles and discouragements, not doing so stubbornly, but with patient persistence and the elastic high temper of mind which cannot understand defeat. It is impossible to vanquish such men, and this has strikingly been shown in all the encounters with misfortune which Mr. Bennett has undergone. He has had more than his share of the buffetings of adversity, but not one spring of hope or courage or energy has ever seemed to be broken in him. That the undertakings of Mr. Bennett both in public and private affairs have been sagacious almost always is undeniable. Events have vindicated his superior foresight and his shrewd apprehension of the drift of things in those

cases where his views met with most antagonism at first. Said a leading Buffalo newspaper recently concerning him :

As regards the canal policy of the state, the municipal policy of our city in relation to the railways and the general interests of our commerce, Mr. Bennett was far ahead of most men in discerning exigencies and demands which all can now recognize very easily. It is inevitable that one so positive in character as Mr. Bennett, so fertile in progressive projects and so determined in pursuing them, will provoke animosities and raise enemies around himself. It is quite as inevitable, on the other hand, that he will multiply friends. The two consequences go to-

gether and cannot well exist apart. He who has no enemies can have no friends, is a statement of fact which claims adoption among other proverbs. Mr. Bennett has both enemies and friends in a proportion which is flattering to him. If his enemies are sometimes bitter, his friends have warmth enough to more than meet them. In his own nature there is a warmth of kindness and geniality and generosity which kindles responsive feelings ; and those who know him best, who see the most of his daily life, and how much of his time and care is given with painstaking consideration to the serving and pleasing of other people, are sure to be the highest in their esteem.

THEODORE JOHNSON.

LOCAL SKETCHES—DETROIT.

BELIEVING that there is in the repositories of history a pigeon-hole for the lighter material which belongs to men and manners as they appear in their every day costume, it may not be out of place to devote some space to an attempt to depict some of the more familiar features of Detroit and its vicinity in the years gone by.

History has become in modern days a more liberal science than formerly. It was once a canon that all histories should be dignified and select. No matter was deemed worthy of a place which did not ostensibly affect the welfare of nations and their rulers. As in an epic poem, so in stately history, every character appeared only in full dress, and the discreet author never went behind the scenes ; and while we saw kings and counselors moving the grand springs of national action, we

never detected the secret wires that moved kings and counselors. But now things are changed. The epic poet of to-day is the writer of romances, who is most successful when he describes most fully the whole cause of common life. And the wise historian finds it important to learn all the circumstances which operate on national life. The nomad of the plain and the patriotic mountaineer owe much of their national characteristics to the nature of the countries they inhabit. A barren land from which the diligent hand can force but a scanty harvest is no mean source of discipline to its sturdy sons, compared with the enervating luxuriance of the tropics which dissuades from labor by spontaneous profusion. And so men are often moulded for ages by the customs and traditions of their fathers. The endless variety of human condi-

tions may all be traced to changes in circumstances. If those circumstances are not history, they make it.

When the first settlements were made at Detroit, the country of the emigrants was governed by a feudal despotism. Large numbers of gentlemen, younger sons of noble families, were seeking in the army the means of advancement denied them in trade or other laborious callings. The colonies from the earliest periods received their full share of these adventurers who became valuable members of society, their ambition finding sufficient food in the excitement always attending the early settlement of civilized men among barbarians. In 1701 the feudal system was fully inaugurated by the creation of Detroit and its vicinage into a dependency, whereof La Motte Cadillac was soon made, practically, lord of the manor, and invested with large powers and privileges. But for some years we find no clear traces of his deriving any great benefit from his domain; and when grants were made afterwards, of which we have any authentic information, they came from the French government which had recalled his conveyances and subsequently confirmed them. About the year 1730 we find evidences of permanent colonization. Up to that time the inhabitants, although owning farms, had lived chiefly in garrison, except when absent on expeditions. But from this period many grants were made of tracts upon the river, above and below, which were occupied as homesteads, and arranged so as to leave no considerable vacancies on the river. Each farm was narrow, being usually

only two or three arpents (or from four hundred to six hundred feet) in width, while all extended back forty arpents from the river. These grants were made by the governor-general and intendant, and contained many conditions. One of the requirements compelled the grantees within two years to obtain a confirmation from the king—a failure to procure which was to have left most of these lands entirely in the control of our government when the country was ceded to the United States. This was a narrow view not favored by French laws. Fines of alienation and quit-rents, as well as annual services are required of all the tenants. Mines and minerals, and the right to cut ship timber were reserved to the crown, but this timber privilege was only one of pre-emption. In some of the grants there was a clause requiring the annual attendance and aid in the erection of a May pole. In most of them the inhabitants were required to have their grain ground at the *moulin banal* or public mill. With the exception of these peculiar conditions, the instruments of cession were in all respects similar to the ordinary conveyances of which the modern French form books contain specimens.

One feature will strike everyone who is at all familiar with our French inhabitants. All the early land grants were made to men of respectable position. There is no doubt the early landholders were the acknowledged aristocracy of the colony. There is to this day a very marked difference in physical characteristics and in mental peculiarities between the families of those gen-

tlemen and the descendants of the plebeians. There is no more aristocratic race on the face of the earth than the higher class of French inhabitants. Their courtesy of manners is more lofty than the easy good humor of the others; and while some of them, like their old Norman progenitors, cannot write their names, they are, nevertheless, proud of their birth, and exhibit unequivocal marks of their descent.

Not far from 1749, large accessions were made to the colony by arrivals from France. The new colonists brought with them all the implements and supplies necessary for good husbandry. Their settlements extended rapidly and their farms began to show appearances of neatness and comfort. In some respects they were much wiser than our American farmers. On every farm they planted freely all kinds of fruit of the choicest varieties. France has always been noted for the excellence of its fruits, and their gardens were well stocked with currants, while beautiful orchards of apples, pears, cherries and plums extended for miles along the river. The pear trees demand special notice. They occupied the place of honor near the mansion, and their majestic stature and brilliant foliage were as pleasing to the eye as their shade was grateful or their fruit delicious. Beneath these lofty pyramids of verdure the contented farmer, when his labor was over (and sometimes, perhaps, when he should have been at it), would sit calmly smoking and resting his eye upon the serene river, happy in silent musing or holding a friendly chat

with some white or red neighbor. The science of horticulture has done wonders in producing fine varieties of fruit; but no one whose youth has been spent among the old Detroit pear trees, will ever admit their product to have been equaled in excellence by any pear that grows, whether "Good Christian" or frivolous "Duchess."

The peculiarity of farms, so narrow and all fronting on the river, was founded on convenience as well as ancient custom. The river was their great highway—never out of repair—and costing no labor to build it. Roads could not be built in a heavily wooded country without much trouble and expense, and when made, would have been impassable for a large portion of the year. The necessity of compact settlements for defense against the Indians, was also very obvious. The houses were so near each other that any alarm was easily conveyed from one to another; and as the clearings were all in front, it would have been difficult for the savages to approach without detection. Every farmer had his canoe (and generally several) dug out from a straight log, and in a long pull, the French were superior to the Indians in their own craft. Bark canoes were not in common use in this neighborhood. Few white birch trees are found until we reach the more northerly portions of the state. But the log canoes or pirogues were made with much symmetry, and were about as manageable as those of bark, and much less liable to injury. Some canoes were made of elm bark. For long voyages, resort was often had to the larger sized

bark canoes which were brought down from the upper country, and served for carrying very heavy loads. But the *batteaux* were more commonly used by the *voyageurs* on long excursions. These, of various sizes, were generally built after the fashion of the wellknown Mackinaw boat, which has been found better adapted for all kinds of service than any other known. Its shape is like that of the American whale boat, and modeled very closely after the best bark canoes which were, perhaps, the prototypes of both. Equally well calculated for sail and oar, it rides safely the highest waves without shipping water or straining. In these apparently frail boats a large portion of the valuable furs of the northwest were carried to market hundreds and sometimes thousands of miles, the lighthearted oarsmen beguiling their labor with songs that had been sung by their fathers in the fair land beyond the sea. Occasionally some strong lunged fellow would vary the burden by chanting with more zeal than reverence, after the fashion of the priests in the singing of mass, murdering the Latin and grievously confusing the order; and then, perhaps, would follow an Indian chant, by no means remarkable for melody.

Being thus prepared for traveling by water, there was less occasion for land voyages. There were no highways in the wilderness but Indian trails, which were, however, well marked and passable with ease for ponies. These shaggy animals alternated with the squaws in bearing packs for their Indian masters, and it would be a hard problem to solve,

which could bear the heavier burden. It was a long time before the French established trading houses in the interior where there would be any occasion for land conveyances, and even then their houses were always on some river where everything could be transported in boats.

As farmers, the early inhabitants were by no means remarkable. Their orchards were carefully managed and yielded them abundance of fruit and cider. Potatoes, beans and other vegetables were raised in profusion. The strong soil required no scientific culture. Corn, wheat, oats, buckwheat, or *sarrasin*, and barley, all flourished. The creeks and rivers, not then shrunk up by the sun, furnished power for some water-mills where their grain was ground at the comfortable rates of toll secured to the jolly miller by the custom of Paris. On every point and headland stood a windmill whirling its long, white arms, and with its stones shaped rudely from granite boulders found on the beach, a grinding process went slowly on in which grain and grist were sometimes powdered together. Sugar was abundant, not imported from the tropics but made by the Indians from the sap of the maple, which grew luxuriantly throughout the whole country. This took the place of salt in many dishes; and the old men now will feast with much gusto upon a bowl of *me-damin* or Indian corn cooked nicely and seasoned only with maple sugar. As their luxuries were thus easily obtained, and there was no chance for the export of grain, no one cleared more

land than he needed, and the idea of renovating it never entered their heads. All the fertility of the soil was derived from bounteous nature. Every winter, when the river became frozen up, the thrifty husbandmen cleared up their barnyards and removed the obnoxious accumulations of manure to the ice; and when spring came, and the frozen fields began to float down the stream, they congratulated themselves at thus easily getting rid of a great nuisance, for neatness was always a household virtue among the inhabitants, and their domestic arrangements are generally very cleanly. No brawny prize oxen tore up the subsoil with double ploughs, for neither the huge animals nor the implements, with which such feats are performed, were then invented. We can all imagine what a paradise this land must have been in its prime, when a century and a half of bad farming has not exhausted it.

It must not be supposed that these people were stupid or inert. They did all they needed for home comfort, as they had no markets. Their dwellings were always well kept and hospitable. An occasional campaign was as exciting and amusing as a summer trip to Newport, and they were always ready for a four months' voyage by land or by water. They knew nature like a book, and shaped their wanderings by the stars. There are many peculiar

customs, now dying away, which deserve to be commemorated. The amusements of the old settlers and those miscellaneous avocations, half work and half play, which were peculiarly suited to their temperaments, are worthy of being chronicled. Their relations with the Indians, too—differing entirely from those prevailing in the English and American rule—are not without importance in solving the vexed questions of civilization. And there are individuals whose lives and adventures should not be left to perish from remembrance. The only difficulty lies in selecting from the abundant materials which present themselves to our choice. The memories of anyone's boyhood in Detroit are full of curious interest. The bright sketches of the lamented Wm. Hamlin were too early brought to an end. Time dealt gently with the children of France until the inevitable Yankee disturbed their peace, and now that the Yankee himself is becoming æsthetic and appreciative of the amenities, the ghosts of the old inhabitants will be appeased. The prosperous citizen whose notes are headed by the handsomest armorial bearings that Broadway skill can furnish, respects the old heraldic symbols that his worthy neighbors have so long stored in their garrets, and the Normans again come to the front.

JAMES V. CAMPBELL.

PITTSBURGH.

XI.

H. C. FRICK.

The position of the Frick Coke company in the world of coke is so prominent and so well understood that its founder and president needs no introduction to the public. The nerve and energy, the courage and financial skill, and the keen business vision of which he is possessed, have long since been shown in his works, and although young in years he is old in experience, and can justly be classed as one of the leaders in the manufacturing circles of the west.

Mr. Frick is of German descent, his grandfather on his mother's side being Abraham Overholt, a man of considerable prominence in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. His father was a farmer of West Overton, in the above named county, where the subject of this sketch was born on December 19, 1849. The first twenty years of his life were spent in school and in the usual round of duties and pleasures by which the American youth approaches manhood, a portion of the time being occupied in clerking in a dry goods store at Mt. Pleasant. In 1869 he became book-keeper in a flouring mill and distillery belonging to his grandfather, at Broad Ford, Fayette county. About this time Mr. Frick turned his attention to the business of making coke from Connellsville coal, an

industry which had then commenced to show signs of the wonderful, commercial and financial possibilities that were contained within it. Mr. Frick with a touch of the nerve and a stroke of the financial genius he has since so abundantly displayed, had already amassed a small capital by a neat little railroad operation, and was determined to see what possibilities might await him in the line of coke. He took a small interest in some available coal property near Broad Ford, and in company with partners built fifty ovens. As he looked into the business, and his quick vision discerned the certain future before the industry that has now become so permanent and of such great proportions, Mr. Frick decided to devote his whole time and apply all his capital, faith and energy to the making of coke. The capacity of his plant was doubled by the erection of fifty more ovens, and in a short time an additional piece of land was purchased and another one hundred ovens were added. About this time the panic of 1873 came. Mr. Frick's partners fell into difficulties through endorsements, and their interests were sold. By the aid of friends, chief among whom was Hon. Thomas Mellon of Pittsburgh, Mr. Frick was enabled to purchase those interests and take complete control of

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W. C. Frick

the plant. Of his operations from that time onward, the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* in a recent article on the Connellsville coke region, has the following to say :

Mr. Frick kept on building and buying ovens. When he couldn't buy he leased. The panic had knocked the courage out of speculation and left many a firm in a corner. While unwilling to sell, through hope of better times, they leased their works to Mr. Frick. Old men wagged their beards solemnly and pitted the young man ; he had been lucky, and if he had any sense, or would listen to the advice of older men, he might live in comfort all the rest of his life. But he was making a fool of himself, and one of these days we would see what we would see. Well, the boom in coke came. The yearly profit on his leased works were more than the value of the works themselves. And those who had prophesied his ruin can see him any of these days—still young, only thirty-six—the head of the Frick Coke company, which owns one-third of the ten thousand ovens in the region.

Mr. Frick conducted the business in his own name until 1878, when he sold an interest to E. M. Ferguson of New York. The firm of H. C. Frick & Company was continued in that form, an addition to the partnership being made in the person of Mr. Walton Ferguson, also of New York, and brother to the gentleman named above. In 1882 the H. C. Frick Coke company was organized, and a large interest therein was sold to the Carnegie Brothers of Pittsburgh. It is, beyond any question, the largest coke company in the world, owning over thirty-five hundred ovens, all located in the Connellsville region ; over ten thousand acres of coal, land and employing four thousand men. It daily produces about four hundred car loads, or sixty-four thousand tons, of coke, which aggregates over two million tons per year. To do this, over three million tons of coal are used annually ; and the coke

goes into every part of the country. The company owns eleven stores ; and taken all in all it is one of the largest, busiest, most useful and most important industrial establishments to be found in America to-day.

The immense annual product mentioned above comes only in answer to the demand that is heard from the country over. The coke of this company is used by the manufacturers of iron, steel, brass, copper and silver wares, and by those using cupola furnaces for iron casting and smelting ores. No expense has been spared to produce the best article that can be made, and in order that only the purest water, free from sulphur and all other impurities, should be obtained, the company has erected, at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars, a system of water-works at the beginning of the line of its ovens, on the Youghiogheny river, from which all the ovens are supplied with water of the best possible nature for the result desired. This is a grand advantage, and is one of the reasons why the "Frick coke" is so much in demand by those who know the relative merits of the various cokes.

This Connellsville region is a wonderful feeder to the industrial interests of the world ; and in proof of the relation it bears thereto, I am tempted to quote as follows from a recent writer touching the yearly coke product of that district alone :

Suppose we fork together the coke made during the last twelve months in the Connellsville region, the popular name for the black stripe of country about forty miles long by three miles wide, which lies northeast and southwest across Westmoreland

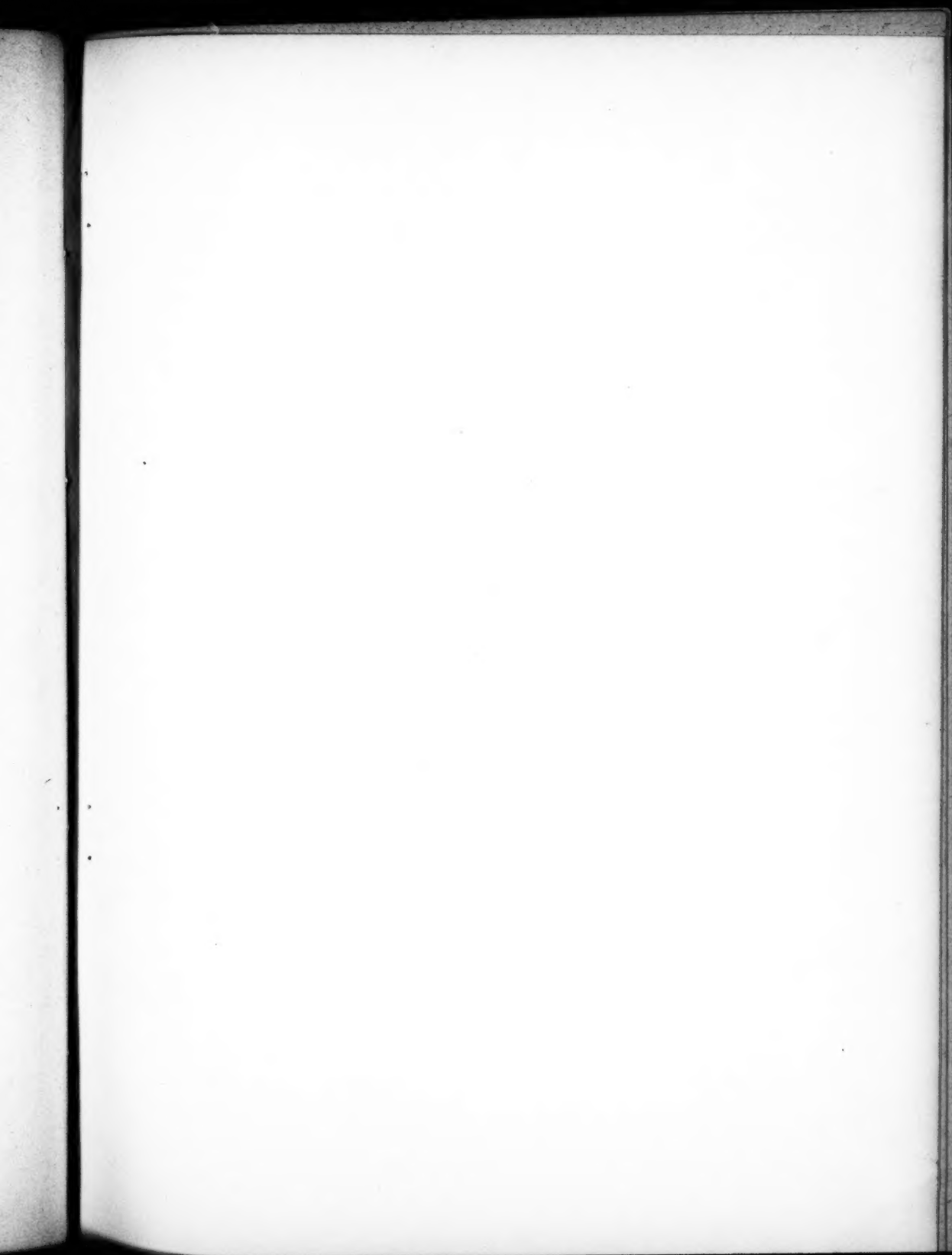
county and part of Fayette. Load it on cars and hitch them together in a continuous train. Start the train going at the rate of twelve miles an hour, which is about a fair average for freight trains, and run it day and night, without a moment's stop to cool hot boxes, or the slightest slacking up on stiff grades. Stand beside the track and watch the train roll by, day after day, hour after hour. Night after night listen to the clank, clank of the wheels over the jointed rails as every hour sees eighteen thousand tons of coke whirled past you. Toward morning of the ninth day the signal lamps on the last car will mark the end of the train, and you will begin to have a dreamy sort of notion of the magnitude of the coke industry that is blazing and smoking within an hour's ride of the city. The headlight of the train will be about twenty-four hundred miles away. I handle the product in this way, not that it is either novel or original, but because one can give a better notion of bulk this way than by any quantity of figures standing by themselves.

That Mr. Frick has been and is one of the chief moving forces in this great development, goes without the saying in view of what has been recorded above. One reason of his marvelous success at an age when most men are only beginning to see their way clear toward the substantial things of life, lies in the fact that when he decided to go into the coke business he dropped all else and gave to it all the power and energy there was in him. He was not content to follow in the old beaten paths but sought out new ones for himself. He was the first to see the possibilities before crushed coke and to manufacture it, and now it is one of the special features of the great corporation of which he is the head. The favor with which his "crushed Connells-

ville coke" was received by manufacturers and the general public, encouraged him to add improvement after improvement to meet the growing demand, and now it is used by manufacturers, for household purposes, for carriage smithing and blacksmithing, for machinery forging, furnaces for brass melting, stoves and ranges in hotels and boarding-houses, on railroad cars, and in many places where its advantages over other kinds of fuel are many and apparent.

Mr. Frick has certainly accomplished enough in the decade past to excuse him from taking part in the other forms of financial and commercial activity of Pittsburgh and western Pennsylvania. Those things are usually reserved for the leisure of later years, after a man has done his share of the active labor of the world. Still, Mr. Frick is a director in the Pittsburgh National Bank of Commerce, and also a director in the Philadelphia Gas Company of Pittsburgh, which has done so much to develop the great system of natural gas. What this bright, active and brainy young man shall accomplish hereafter remains for the future to develop. But he has already shown the possession of the highest qualities of financial generalship, and is universally recognized as one of the prominent and self-made men of Pittsburgh.

HENRY K. JAMES.





Dr. Sam. May

Engr. by H. H. Hall & Sons, 13 Barclay St. N.Y.

HERMAN KIEFER.

HERMAN KIEFER was born November 19, 1825, at Sulzburg, Grand Dukedom of Baden, Germany, and is the only son of Dr. Conrad and Frederica Schweyckert Kiefer. His academic and professional studies were thorough and liberal. He first attended the high school of Freiburg, beginning at his ninth year, and afterwards in turn those at Mannheim and Karlsruhe, completing his preparatory course at the age of eighteen years. He then began the study of medicine at the University of Freiburg, continued the following year at Heidelberg, and later, attended the medical institutions of Prague and Vienna. At various times he was under the instruction of such distinguished masters of medical science as Arnold, Henle, Oppolzer, Stromeyer, Pitha and Scanzoni, and in May, 1849, was graduated with the highest honors upon his examination before the state board of examiners at Karlsruhe. Such a degree received from such a source implies a prolonged and assiduous study, which America is but now beginning to appreciate, and, in a modified degree, to imitate in its requirements. The venerable institutions at which Dr. Kiefer spent fifteen years of his boyhood and young manhood, stand before the educated world as favorable examples of the vast and perfect machinery, by the agency of which Ger-

many has so well earned the name of being a nation of scholars.

There is very slight probability that Dr. Kiefer would ever have become an American but for one agency—the same which has given to the United States much of the best blood and best brains of Germany—that of revolution. He had scarcely received his doctorate when occurred the revolution of 1849. In common with thousands of his fellows among the educated youth of his country, he embraced the side of the people, with all the ardor and enthusiasm of his years, flinging his future carelessly aside, to espouse the cause of a down-trodden race, against the almost invincible power of organized authority. He joined the volunteer regiment of Emmendingen and was at once appointed its surgeon. With that regiment he was present at the battle of Phillipsburg, June 20, 1849, and at that of Upstadt, on the twenty-third of the same month. It was at the former engagement that Prince Carl, later Field-Marshal of Germany, was wounded and narrowly escaped capture by the regiment to which Dr. Kiefer was attached.

When the revolution was suppressed, Dr. Kiefer, in common with thousands of others, was compelled to flee the consequences of his patriotic service. He took refuge in the city of Strasburg,

then under the dominion of the French Republic, of which Louis Napoleon was president. Even there he did not find a safe asylum, for the Republic declined to shelter the refugees from Baden. The spies of Napoleon—a tyrant under the cloak of popular leadership—discovered his place of concealment, arrested him and he was again compelled to fly. Making his way to the sea-board he took passage upon a sailing vessel for the United States, leaving port August 18, and arriving in New York on the nineteenth day of September, 1849.

America was then far less cosmopolitan than now, and lacked much of having attained its present advanced standard of professional and general scientific attainment. It did not present a promising field to a highly educated German, and we can imagine that the necessity for leaving behind him the possibilities of success and distinction in his own country, must have been a bitter one to an ambitious young man, fresh from the scholastic atmosphere of Heidelberg and the gaiety of Vienna. Still, there was no question of the necessity, and he made the best of it. After a brief sojourn in New York, he turned his face westward, intending to establish himself permanently in St. Louis. On the way, however, he met a countryman who had lived for several years at Detroit, and was led to change his intention and turn aside to that place.

The population of Detroit in the autumn of 1849, was little if any more than twenty thousand. Michigan was still provincial, and neither social nor

business methods had outgrown the crudity of its earlier days. Less than five months before, Dr. Kiefer had stood before the state examiners at Carlsruhe, and received his diploma, with no other thought than that he should live, work and die in Fatherland. Since then he had been a soldier, a fugitive, and now found himself, by force of circumstances, an alien in tongue and blood, facing fortune in a very American western city.

He opened an office for the practice of his profession, on the nineteenth day of October, 1849, and, in spite of all his disadvantages, soon won a pronounced success. His practice was, almost from the first, sufficient for his needs and grew year by year, until it came to be exceedingly absorbing and lucrative.

It may be as well to say here as elsewhere, that Dr. Kiefer has always held very dear, and given every effort to preserve the spirit and the literature of the Teutonic race. The anomaly is only apparent in the statement that he is also a thorough and loyal American. His devotion to the country which gave him shelter in his exile, is not at all impeached by his desire to see the language, the grand literature and the social and historical traditions of Germany perpetuated among his compatriots.

He has always taken a deep interest in educational matters. He was one of the founders of the German-American seminary, a school incorporated by the state for finished instruction in all departments of learning, to be given equally in the German and English language, so far as practicable or desir-

able. Of this institution he was president and treasurer from the time of its foundation in 1861 until 1872, when he resigned and severed all connection with it, by reason of a disagreement with its other members upon what he regarded as a vital matter of educational ethics. It has always been his belief that no teaching of religious doctrine or creed should be introduced into school instruction. His associates proposed to make the seminary a sectarian institution, and his withdrawal was the consequence.

During the years 1866 and 1867, Dr. Kiefer was a member of the Detroit board of education and used his utmost influence to induce that body to introduce the teaching of German into the public schools of that city. He made repeated efforts in this direction, urging his point upon the grounds of the practical utility of the language, and also as a right which German citizens were justified in demanding. In spite, however, of his utmost efforts, he failed to secure the desired legislation.

In 1882 Dr. Kiefer was elected a member of the public library commission, to fill a vacancy for a period of one year; in 1883 he was reelected for the full term of six years. When he assumed this office there were very few German books in the library, and the fine and thoroughly representative collection of works in that language now upon the shelves, was almost entirely selected and purchased under his personal supervision. Considering the number of volumes and the sum expended, it would be difficult to find a

library which better illustrates the thought and literary methods of Germany, in science, history and the *belles lettres*, and Dr. Kiefer deserves the thanks not only of Germans but of all scholars and investigators, for the important service thus rendered.

Dr. Kiefer is a member of the Wayne county and the State Medical societies and the American Medical association. He is recognized at home and by physicians throughout the country as a skillful, successful and scientific physician. Until recently he has been devoted to his practice with the greatest assiduity, finding time only for the public services mentioned. This close attention to his professional duties has prevented his making any elaborate contributions to medical literature, but his papers in various periodicals devoted to the interests of his profession, have been many and have done no little to spread his reputation in other cities and states.

For many years Dr. Kiefer has held a representative position among the German citizens of Detroit and Michigan and has, upon all occasions, been their champion. In all his public life he has endeavored by tongue and pen to convince the public that the German born population of the United States should be respected as fully equal to the native born people. He claims nothing for his countrymen as Germans, but as citizens of the United States defends their rights to the fullest political and social recognition. Among the claims which he makes for them are recognition of their language and social cus-

toms and the right to pursue their happiness in any way which shall not infringe upon the equally sacred rights and liberties of others. In his own family Dr. Kiefer has paid a tribute to Germany by insisting upon the exclusive use of its language, and this influence he has supplemented by educating several of his children in the schools of his native land.

He has been an active member of many of the German societies of Detroit, and has represented his countrymen upon various important occasions. He took a prominent place at the Singers festival held at Detroit, in 1857; at the festival commemorative of Schiller's centennial in the year 1859; at the festival of Humboldt, in 1869; and in 1871, when all German America was wild with joy at the successful ending of the Franco-German war, he acted as president and orator of the day at the peace celebration held by the German citizens of Detroit on the first day of May.

In politics Dr. Kiefer has been a steadfast and consistent Republican since the organization of that party in 1854. There is nothing in his character that would render "trimming" or vacillation possible to him, no matter how dearly his political allegiance might cost him. During the futile campaign made by the Republicans in 1854, he was chairman of the German Republican executive committee of the state of Michigan. In 1872 he was one of the Presidential electors of the state, and in 1876 was a delegate to the Republican National convention held at Cincinnati. At that

convention, when after four ineffective ballots the delegates were seeking to unite upon a compromise candidate, he was influential in inducing the Michigan delegation to give their united support to Rutherford B. Hayes. In every Presidential campaign from 1854 until 1880 he worked actively for the success of the Republican party, going upon the stump and exerting his influence very effectively among the German citizens of the state. He is an eloquent speaker, recognized by all as holding his opinions with as much honesty as tenacity, and his leading position among his compatriots gives him an influence which has been invaluable to the Republican party.

In spite of his long and arduous service, Dr. Kiefer has held but one federal office and that very recently. During the month of July, 1883, he was appointed by President Arthur consul to Stettin. Once before, in 1873, he had revisited his native land, spending six months in travel, but his return as an official representative of the United States to the Fatherland which he left as a political fugitive, less than twenty-five years before, was an especial gratification to him.

The office, too, was much to his taste. He did not make a holiday of his residence at Stettin, but gave a close attention to his duties and an intelligent study to political social and trade conditions the results of which he transmitted to the secretary of state in a large number of valuable reports, many of which were published by the government. Among these may be named his "Report on Beet

Sugar," published in Volume xxxix of the United States Consular Reports; 'Report on Base Burners,' in Volume xl; 'Report on the Extension of European Trade in the Orient,' in Volume xlii; 'Report on American Trade with Stettin,' in Volume xlvi; 'Report on Agricultural Machinery,' in Volume xlviii; 'How Germany is Governed,' in Volume l; Report on Labor in Europe,' published by the department of state in a separate volume. These are by no means all the reports made by Dr. Kiefer during an official service of but eighteen months and they furnish a sufficient evidence of the activity and zeal with which he performed his duties.

Upon the election of a Democratic President, Dr. Kiefer was one of the first officials to resign his office. This he did in a characteristic letter addressed to the department of state immediately after the election, and while the cabinet, of course, was still Republican, in which he expressed his unwillingness either to be "a victim of the political guillotine or to see civil service reform managed by the Democrats."

On the twenty-first of January, 1885, he retired from his office. For several months thereafter he remained in Europe, traveling extensively upon the continent. In September of the same year he returned to America and, upon his arrival at Detroit, was complimented with two formal receptions—one tendered by his fellow physicians and the other by German residents of the city. He brought with him, from his brief of-

ficial life, an enviable reputation for the zeal and ability with which he had discharged its duties. During the present year Dr. Kiefer has made a prolonged visit to California.

Dr. Kiefer was reared a Protestant but his views have greatly changed and he now disavows any religious belief, holding that every individual must be judged purely by his own acts.

Soon after coming to America, Dr. Kiefer was joined by his mother, who was accompanied by Fransisca Kehle, to whom he was affianced in Germany. The two were married July 21, 1850. During the year 1851 his father also came to Detroit, but both father and mother returned to the old country after a brief residence in America. Dr. and Mrs. Kiefer have passed together nearly thirty-six happy and prosperous years. They have had seven sons and two daughters, and of these five sons and one daughter are now living. These children are: Alfred K. Kiefer, who is connected with the Wayne county savings bank of Detroit; Arthur E., manager of the Detroit Edge Tool works; Edwin H., a resident of New York; Edgar L., of the firm of Kiefer & Heyn of Detroit; Minnie C., the wife of Dr. C. Bonning, Dr. Kiefer's partner, and Guy Lincoln, now at Ann Arbor university.

Dr. Kiefer is connected as an investor and officer with many of the leading financial and business institutions of Detroit.

SIDNEY VICKERS.

FIFTY YEARS OF MICHIGAN AS A STATE.

GENERATIONS of men come and go, ripening with years for the inevitable harvest, but institutions in harmony with eternal laws may expand and strengthen as the cycles of time roll on, and with every passing century strike their roots deeper, and take on some new form of perennial growth.

A panoramic historical view of the region which embraces Michigan, beginning with the first meager accounts we have of it, would be of intense interest and give us many startling surprises. First, we should see on a background of almost total darkness the desperate struggles of powerful tribes of Indians contending, in their savage way, for its possession. Then a day of promise seems to dawn when the Jesuit fathers come, inspired with the purpose to convert the wandering tribes of savages to the true faith, but destined to give tireless labors for a harvest which seems but scanty when they come bringing in their sheaves. Not altogether in vain, however, do they labor, for on the picture we trace how the gleam of their mission fires lights the way for trade and settlement, and how the early commerce finds protection in the rude cross planted at the missions, about which the Indians gather with their furs and peltry for barter. Shortly appears upon the canvas the venerable figure of Father Mar-

quette, who in 1668 plants at the Sault Ste. Marie the first permanent settlement in Michigan, and three years later founds the mission of St. Ignatius on the straits of Mackinaw. Ninety years more roll on and the Chevalier la Motte Cadillac is seen to select with unerring sagacity as the site for his town the commanding position now held by the commercial metropolis of the state; but the town he establishes grows but feebly under the monopoly of trade which represses the energies of its people until it passes under British control. Then immediately the gloomy and threatening countenance of Pontiac rises before us, and we have in succession the dramatic surprise and capture of Mackinaw, with the massacre of its garrison and traders, followed by the close and persistent siege of Detroit, in the progress of which first romance and then, tragedy excites intense interest. And then all through the war for independence the lines of British influence over the Indians are seen to centre at Detroit, which is the mart for captives, and the place where scalps torn from the heads of men, women and children in the back settlements are gathered in and paid for. Even after the treaty of peace the baleful British influence over the Indians is not withdrawn until two American

armies have been disastrously repulsed, nor until a third under General Wayne has annihilated the savage power.

Willingly we allow so gruesome a canvas to be rolled up from our sight that we may open the record book of American supremacy. And here we find the very first pages radiant with the history of that grand and inspiring event in our national life, the founding of territorial government for the country northwest of the Ohio, on the principle of entire and absolute exclusion of chattel slavery. When the founders of the new government thus took stand in advance of their age, they builded not wisely merely, but better than they knew; for their act was such "a deed done for freedom" as sends "a thrill of joy prophetic" through the universe. In putting slavery under perpetual ban, a blow was struck at oppression everywhere whose echoes were never to die away till the conscience of the world should be so quickened that in America every shackle should fall from human limbs, and even in distant Russia church bells should ring in a jubilee of emancipation.

In the fullness of time Michigan, fourth in the list of free daughters of the old Northwest Territory, was decked with the honors of incipient statehood, under the same perpetual dedication to equal rights and universal liberty. It was fortunate in its name, which is American, derived from Indian words signifying a great lake. Mr. Jefferson had proposed for it the classical appellation of Chersonesus; but a kindly providence spared it the hard fortune

to be thus named, and when it was organized in 1805 inspired its godfathers to give it the appropriate christening. In other particulars it was not so fortunate, and the early annals form dismal reading. In the very year of organization Detroit was wholly burned to the ground and its people rendered homeless. And while the little settlement was still struggling with adversity came on the war of 1812, and the revolutionary soldier who had been made governor, and entrusted with the defense of the lake region, proved wholly inadequate to the military responsibilities of his position, and Detroit, under most humiliating circumstances, was delivered into the hands of the enemy. Then came the massacre of Kentucky's brave sons at the River Raisin, and the banishment of worthy citizens who refused to turn traitors; but competent leadership soon breasted and turned back the tide of success, and in little more than a year Perry had won possession of Lake Erie, Harrison had chased the British army across the river and broken it up in a decisive battle, and Colonel Lewis Cass had been sent to Detroit as military commandant, soon to be followed by a commission as civil governor.

If the first appointment of governor for the territory had proved unfortunate, in the second the people found ample compensation. Governor Cass had been a pioneer in Ohio; he knew the west and its needs, and during the war he had become well known to the people of his new government. He was of vigorous intellectual and physical constitution; he was a man of

culture and courtesy; he was of pure life, so that with no affectation of dignity he commanded respect for abilities and deportment, and became a social force of marked and permanent benefit to his people. In his administration of public affairs it was soon perceived that he was a statesman in no narrow sense; that he thoroughly understood the interests committed to his charge, and that he might be relied upon to advance and cherish them with an energy proportioned to a nature so robust and vigorous.

To the pioneers of Michigan it would be repeating a thrice-told tale to recount how Governor Cass, by just and fair treatment of the Indians, preserved their friendship and purchased in fair convention vast tracts of their lands; how he contributed to the opening of the territory to settlement by means of good roads and the bringing of the public lands into market, and how, with a statesman's perception of the real point of danger in a democratic republic, he urged upon the legislature from session to session that competent provision should be made for educating in the public schools all the children of the territory. Nor was his interest in public education bounded by the narrow limits of elementary instruction, but comprehending the best and the highest, so that even in one of his treaties with the Indians we find him making a beginning in university endowment.

When Governor Cass was called to the government but few settlers of American birth had as yet located in the territory; but these few were

"The first low wash or waves where soon
Shall roll a human sea."

The population swelled rapidly, until in 1830 it numbered upwards of thirty-two thousand. But in the following year the territory lost its chief magistrate, who was summoned to a seat in the cabinet of President Jackson. The loss was not made good by the appointment of Mr. George B. Porter of Pennsylvania to the vacancy, for the new appointee was slow in coming to his government, and was much absent from his post afterwards. Under the law, in his absence the duties were performed by Mr. Stevens T. Mason, the territorial secretary, who when the responsibilities of government devolved upon him, was still a boy, without legal capacity to buy a horse or give a note of hand. But the acting governor was ambitious and able, and he shortly became leader in a movement for state government. In 1835 the population was found to exceed sixty thousand, and under a claim that this, by the ordinance of 1787, entitled the people to organize as a state, a constitution was formed and adopted by popular vote and a full complement of state officers elected and installed, with Mr. Mason as governor.

Had there been no opposing interests, it is probable that these proceedings, though plainly irregular, would have been sanctioned by congress and the state received into the Union. But a boundary controversy with Ohio, involving territory of which the chief value centered in the rising town of Toledo, complicated the situation, the military were called out to defend the

respective claims, and for a time the Toledo war raged. But the war was in prudent hands, and though drums were heard, not a funeral note brought sorrow to any household. Ohio had the advantage of position, for she was already in the Union with voting power, and President Jackson, who could appreciate this, disallowed the claims of Michigan to state government, and sent John S. Horner on as secretary, to be acting governor and restore peace. The secretary on coming on found no government awaiting him, and people only ridiculed his pretensions. There was thus a state government repudiated at Washington and a territorial government rejected at home, when congress intervened with the compromise proposition that Michigan, in exchange for the territory in dispute, should accept the upper peninsula. The offer was emphatically rejected; but an irregular convention of the people having subsequently voted to accept, the authorities at Washington pretended to be satisfied with this and declared the state admitted to the Union with its present boundaries. It was a piece of sharp practice, and people protested; but, even while protesting, they acquiesced, satisfied in their hearts that for all that was taken from them princely compensation was made. And thus the Toledo war came to an end. One belligerent had won all that it contended for, and the other a great deal more; and Franklin's aphorism that there never yet was a good war was proved to admit of exception.

The state was received into the family of the American Union on January 26,

1837. The occasion invites some notice of the people as they then were; of their antecedents and characteristics, that we may the better judge of the motives underlying and permeating the social and political community.

The motives which in past ages have led to colonization have not commonly been such as strict morality could approve; and in history we have many stories of great wrong, and very few in which the motive apparent was higher than national ambition or greed. The colonization of New England was exceptional, but it has been overpraised, as if it were a planting of states on the great principle of freedom in religious worship. This it was not and could not have been, for the world was not then ready for such a planting. What our New England forefathers did was to brave the hardships and privations of the wilderness that they might establish civil and religious liberty for themselves, and this was noble, even though they invited and desired no participation by others.

Religious motive in the ordinary sense had nothing to do with the colonization of Michigan. The early explorers were missionaries, but the French settlers came for trade and barter, as did also those of early nationalities. The later immigrants were for the most part men of very limited means, who in their plain way would answer an inquiry for their motive in coming west with the common response that they had come west to better their condition, and in order that their children might "grow up with the country."

The motive as thus stated seems commonplace, and to a degree selfish. We hear it with a certain degree of respect, but we are not thrilled by it, or excited to high admiration as we are when we read how some self-sacrificing, patriotic, or religious motive has inspired a great movement or led to notable deeds. But a motive may seem commonplace, or even selfish, and yet be grounded in the noblest sentiments of human nature. In the building of great states of vigorous and wealth-creating people selfishness comes first, though philanthropy may come later, and the selfishness is blamable only when excessive. The greatest of the apostles in his pointed condemnation of the man who provides not for his own, "and specially for those of his own house," has shown us in what category he places this duty, and reason as plainly as the preacher declares that the duty to place those whom nature has committed to our care above the want that causes suffering and breeds repining is not social merely, but religious also. In performing it we may lift those dependent upon us into that condition of comfort and content from which shall spring the sentiment that life is a beneficent gift from the Creator, to be acknowledged with continuous gratitude and well-doing.

It can justly be said of the pioneers of the state that they performed faithfully and well this duty of care for their own, and in doing so they demonstrated the harmony of their aims and their labors with the purposes of the Creator. The foundations of a great

state were laid in industry, frugality, and the domestic virtues.

If we look into the social conditions of the period we behold an exceedingly primitive society, in which wants were few and the measure of strict economy ample for their gratification. The older towns of the state were still largely French in population. Among these were all grades of intelligence and all conditions of worldly prosperity; and while some took up business in a large way and with ample means, others were content with the small gains and meager fare of trappers and fishermen. But the majority of the people had found their tedious way into the territory from other states in the heavy, tented wagons which then plowed the ruts of every forest road, but are now as much unknown in Michigan as the Buffalo or the beaver. They had come with an inspiration as absorbing as that which moved the old crusaders, and far more intelligent and elevating; an inspiration to seize the golden moment when peacefully, with their small means, they might possess themselves of homes where prudence and economy after some discipline of pioneer hardship and deprivation would be sure of just rewards, and where ample means for the nurture and education of a hardy and vigorous offspring should be within the reach of every industrious citizen. Never before in the history of the world, and in no other country but America, was such tempting promise held out for the acceptance of honest industry.

It was a hard life the pioneers led in

the woods, but every acre which they brought under cultivation added to the value of their possessions, and they could forego without repining many of the most ordinary comforts of life when the future promised such abundant compensation. And hard as it was for husbands and brothers, it was for wives and sisters still harder. Many of them had been reared in competence and accustomed to luxuries; but they had left these behind them without repining, and had brought to the west no notions which would preclude their giving effective assistance in any labor, indoors or out, to which the feminine strength was equal. And it must be said that there were few tasks to which it was found unequal, for the willingness to be helpful begat the strength necessary for the purpose; and the happiest days of many an honored woman's life were when she was piling and burning the brush in her husband's clearing, and as the sun went down refreshing him and herself with supper from the brimming milk-pail which she brought from the pasture. If she was a lady in her eastern home, she was not the less so with rougher hands and coarser garments and heavier burdens, but with equally buoyant spirits, in the woods, where only her husband's ax woke the reverberating echoes. She wore no diamonds and no laces; she may have known little and cared less for fashion; but she did her full share in giving to the new state the muscle and the brain, the industry and the strength of character that in a few short years were to bring to it both wealth and greatness. The song of the spin-

ning wheel in the log cabin was as cheerful then as is now the melody of musical instruments in many thousand happy homes, which owe their abundant comforts to the patience, the self-denial, the industry, the energy and the endurance of those who first opened the forest to the sunlight. The men felled the trees, and the women, "keepers at home," made the home worth the keeping. In that day of small things it was woman's mission, which woman faithfully performed, to

"—bring to her husband's house delight and abundance,
Filling it full of love, and the ruddy faces of children."

But if the pioneers could dispense with many comforts they could spare none of their accustomed institutions. They must, therefore, have the common schools, which in their view were a necessity to both the social and the civil state. But the provision for these was on a scale of economy corresponding to that which governed domestic expenditures, and often the child had to travel a tedious distance to school, where the instruction awaiting him was still more tedious. Then, too, those were the semi-barbarous times when every "master of the district school" was "brisk wielder of the birch and rule." But poor as they were, these pioneer schools were harbingers of better things; the rude forerunners of a system not surpassed in the world and seldom equalled. All education must be largely a process of self-training, and the child of inquiring mind, with only the most imperfect help at first,

may make all things about him, animate and inanimate, his teachers, finding "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks," to instruct him.' In these primitive schools many a boy acquired such elementary instruction as enabled him in time to become a man of mark in the state; and they should be mentioned with respect, for places of honor and trust, from lowest to highest, have been filled with their graduates, who in many cases wielded wisely and well an extensive and valuable influence.

The early settlers in Michigan were for the most part young men, who first entered upon the stage of independent action in their new home. This was in some respects a great advantage to the state, for the vigor of youth inspired all industrial and political life, and made itself effectively useful where a conservatism which comes in later years might not have ventured. But in the confident and restless energy of youth may lurk dangers also; and as these young men contemplated the material advantages and resources of the state, hope told a flattering tale of the rapidity with which it might be made great and wealthy by prompt and efficient development, and pictured results so alluring and so apparently attainable that sober reason for the time was mastered.

General causes greatly magnified the dangers. When the state government was formed an eager spirit of speculation pervaded the country. Wild lands seemed to offer the best means for its gratification. The Erie canal had been constructed, railroad building had begun, the west was brought within easy

reach of the seaboard, and the emigration to it must be large and continuous. Land in the west must immediately begin to advance in value, and the advance must continue until prices should approximate those in the eastern states. Such was the confident and not unreasonable expectation. Wild lands, therefore, became the chief object of speculation, though by no means the sole object.

Some faint idea of the prevailing rage may be had from the statement that in 1834 fifty per cent. more public land was sold than in any prior year; that three times as much was sold the next year, and the quantity sold in 1836 equalled all the sales from 1821 to 1833 inclusive. The hurricane of speculation swept across the country, but the cyclone struck here. The state was easily accessible, and immigration poured over it in such a torrent that it seemed like the concocted migration of a great people. In the three years following 1834, though the tide was greatly checked in 1837, the population of the state was doubled, and lands in enormous quantities were held for speculation, much of it under purchase money mortgages far exceeding actual value.

The story of what followed, if given in detail, would show how to realize the flattering hopes of speedy wealth the state was induced, under the leadership of its sanguine governor, to enter upon an extensive system of internal improvements by canal and railroad, when it had not money to dig a mile of ditch or build a mile of road; how for this

purpose it mortgaged its future by a loan far beyond its ability to pay even the interest ; how bonds were issued for this loan and by a breach of trust put upon the market when only a moiety of the loan had been received ; and how to meet its current expenses and interest resort was had to state scrip of doubtful constitutionality. The great crash soon came, when the bubble of speculation broke. The market value of land went down faster than it had even gone up ; wild lands became unsalable at any price ; debts contracted in buying them bankrupted the purchasers, and the overtrading which had been a part of the general inflation was succeeded by such sharp reactions as made disaster general. In two years from the time when speculation was at its highest, and expectation most buoyant, the business of the state was prostrate ; credit, public and private, destroyed, bankruptcy general, and large numbers of persons looking about anxiously for the means of subsistence. Only among the officers of the law who were busy in bringing suits and serving writs, was prosperity apparent, and they had found their harvest time.

The bubble had burst, but another that had been inflated at the same time to dangerous proportions was now further expanded as a means of relief. And here we open another chapter of state history which can only be mentioned but not entered upon : the chapter which concerns that species of financiering appropriately termed wild-cat banking ; banking without legitimate banking means or convertible

security, and therefore only calculated to play the part of a beast of prey. Enormous amounts of worthless paper were issued ; the wild banking and the wild speculating going on hand in hand until the latter collapsed, threatening to pull down the worthless banking system with it, when the legislature interfered and authorized suspension of bank payments. Even then the process of creating banks was not stopped, and the extraordinary spectacle was witnessed of banks coming into existence in a state of suspension—born bankrupt and lifeless except for plunder. Before the year was over in which the state was admitted to the Union, it had gone through all the stages of unreasoning speculation ; it had been compelled to refuse recognition of state obligations disposed of without consideration received, though the refusal subjected it to a plausible but unjust charge of repudiation ; it had begun railroads and canals it no had means to construct and did not yet need, and it had legalized a great brood of banks which had flooded the country with dishonored currency now sinking rapidly to utter worthlessness. Such was the mortifying result of the attempt to find an easier road to wealth and greatness than by the common highway which industry and frugality open. The suffering from the collapse of this fictitious prosperity was general, but here, as in all similar cases, losses from bad currency fell in largest measure upon persons of limited means, who had fewest opportunities to keep advised of what was coming, or to provide against it when it was perceived.

At the beginning of 1839 the lowest depths had been reached and the golden visions which had dazzled the eyes of the people had faded away. State and people alike were oppressed by debt, and the public works were unfinished and unprofitable. Nothing but a long course of sober and persistent industry with strict economy could bring effectual relief. But reason was now restored, and it was an inspiring spectacle to see with what unhesitating confidence the people put the past behind them, and beginning at the very bottom, applied themselves to planting in steady labor, in frugal living, and in honest dealing, the foundation of public and individual prosperity.

The errors of Governor Mason as executive are very patent, but in some particulars he is to be highly commended. He was a man of public spirit and good purposes, and had the best interests of the state at heart. His judicial appointments, among which were those of George Morell, Epaphroditus Ransom, and Elon Farnsworth, were excellent, and he did an incalculable service to the state when he made John D. Pierce superintendent of public instruction, and gave him the assistance he needed in putting in force his views upon common school and university education. And here he had the help of Isaac E. Crary, the first representative of the state in congress, well qualified by culture and ability to be a safe adviser. Nor must we forget that it was during the administration of Governor Mason that a geological survey of the state was provided for and put in charge

of that enthusiastic student of nature, Douglas Houghton; a survey which has been carried on to this day with most valuable results. The good he did, therefore, fully justifies the warm place the boy governor of the state still holds in the hearts of the people.

The financial crash carried down with it the Democratic party, which had been in power when madness ruled the public councils. In the election of 1839 William Woodbridge, a native of Connecticut, was chosen governor. He had been in the territory twenty-five years, and had held the offices of territorial secretary, delegate in congress, and judge of the territorial supreme court, which last office President Jackson had taken from him to confer upon one of his own supporters. He did not serve out his term as governor, being transferred to the federal senate to succeed John Norvel, who, with Lucius Lyon, had been the first members. Mr. Lyon had previously given place to Aug. S. Porter. Lieutenant-Governor J. Wright Gordon then became governor.

The Democratic party was restored to power by the election of 1841, with John S. Barry as governor. Mr. Barry was a native of Vermont, who in agricultural and mercantile pursuits had acquired a reputation for a prudence not too narrow to be thrifty, for methodical business habits, and for integrity. He had been sufficiently in public life to be known to the people of the state, and his characteristics seemed to indicate him as the suitable man for executive at a time when the people were still burdened with private and public debts,

and when, in the management of public affairs, strict economy and accurate business habits were of the first importance. He was not chosen for popular manners, for he neither had them nor apparently cared to acquire them, but he was nevertheless reelected in 1843, and again recalled to the office in 1849, after having been four years in retirement.

The administration of Governor Barry was eminently useful to the state. It gave to the state an illustration of rigid economy and careful method in the management of public affairs which determined the character of financial management for the state thereafter. It was of value also for its influence upon private habits and expenditures; and the state and the people from that time went on steadily and strongly in the direction of improvement and accumulation. The times demanded an executive to whom the facile and flattering tongue of the demagogue was denied, but who could make austere and uncompromising public virtues acceptable to the people, and Governor Barry fully met its requirements.

In the election of 1845 Alpheus Felch, a native of Maine, still living, and worthily associated with state history from the first, was made Governor Barry's successor. Under his administration the state relieved itself by sale of the incubus of its railroads. The sale was demanded by a public sentiment practically unanimous, and it has never been regretted. The state was at once put in condition which made payment of its indebtedness easy, and its financial

credit became unquestioned and unquestionable. And now for a second time the state lost a good executive by the transfer of the governor to the Federal senate. William L. Greenly, the lieutenant-governor, succeeded him, giving way in 1848 to Judge Ransom, a native of Massachusetts, who had retired from the bench three years previously.

The old pioneers of the state were gratified by the nomination of Governor Cass to the presidency in 1848, naturally preferring him as they did to any other candidate of his party. The governor, after serving in the cabinet of President Jackson, had been sent as minister to France, and on his return was elected to a seat in the Federal senate. He resigned his seat pending the presidential election, but dissensions in his party proved fatal to his prospects, and a man without known political principles was elected over him. Governor Cass was a statesman of the old school, upright, patriotic and decorous; but he was overwhelmed by a rising tide of anti-slavery sentiment, which he could neither resist nor fully understand, and new men who were ready to grasp with aggressive ardor the living issues of the time, soon supplanted him in public notice. In this he but shared the fortunes of his great contemporaries, Webster, Clay, and Benton, who for a time struggled vainly to master the logic of events, hoping against hope that by new compromises they might preserve the national peace and repress a conflict which the laws of mind and morals made irrepressible.

During the last administration of Gov-

enor Barry, the time seemed to have come for that peaceful and undisturbing revision of the fundamental law which is always provided for in the American constitutions, and which enables new ideas to assert their supremacy without the revolutionary violence that might be a necessary concomitant in some other countries. The period was one of uneasiness and unrest the world over; the thrones of Europe were shaking, and the people, with arms in their hands, and behind barricades, were demanding the abolition of oppressive special privilege and for themselves a larger share in the government. America escaped the calamities of insurrection and civil war, and the radical wave which swept across both continents spent its force upon constitutional changes which brought the agencies of government more directly within the reach of the popular voice, and made in some important particulars a better adjustment of individual rights. A notable change in Michigan was the requirement that judicial officers and heads of executive departments should be chosen by popular election. In an entire revision of the state constitution made in 1850 we find restrictions upon over-legislation in the provision for biennial sessions of the legislature, and in the limitations imposed upon the exactment of private, social and local laws. Exemptions of property from forced sale for debts were largely increased, and married women were relieved from the hard rules of the common law which gave their property to their husbands. Very low salaries were prescribed for all state officers; that of

the governor being one thousand dollars only. The possible consequences of corporate aggrandizement were aimed at, in a provision requiring all corporations to be formed under general laws which were to be always subject to alteration or repeal. Banking laws must be approved by popular vote, and the state was prohibited from engaging in internal improvements, or taking part with, or loaning its credit to any person association, or corporation. These last are significant provisions, born of the great revulsion, but as wise in policy as they are noticeable in origin.

The succession of the executive office fell in 1851 to Robert McClelland, for a term shortened to one year in the change of constitutions. Governor McClelland was a native of Pennsylvania, but had emigrated to Michigan before it became a state, and had served for three terms in the popular branch of congress, where he had made for himself a national reputation. He was reelected governor in 1852, but resigned to become secretary of the interior, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Parsons. Charles E. Stuart, who had also served with credit in the lower house of congress, was now advanced to the senate to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Felch, who had accepted a federal appointment.

The great anti-slavery uprising which followed the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill had the same disintegrating effect upon political parties in Michigan as elsewhere, and the Free-soil party now almost wholly absorbed the Whigs and had sufficient reinforcement from the

Democratic party to enable it to take control of the state. Kinsley S. Bingham who had served two terms in congress and made a good record, led the Democratic contingent into the Free-soil ranks. He was a native of New York, a farmer by occupation, had been in Michigan since 1833; and was now elected governor as the candidate of the new party. He was a man of good but not showy abilities; made a good record as governor, and was reelected in 1856. At the end of the second term, he was chosen senator in congress to succeed Charles E. Stuart. Governor Cass continued in that body until 1857, when he became secretary of state under President Buchanan, and was succeeded in the senate by Zachariah Chandler. Of this gentleman it may safely be said that from the time of his election to the senate he was the most notable man of his party in the state; that he soon became prominent in national politics and that his influence with his party associates grew from year to year to the day of his death.

Mr. Chandler was a merchant of Detroit, and like his predecessor a native of New Hampshire. He had strong native sense, easily adapted himself to all classes of men and all grades of society, was quick in decision, fearless in action, uncompromising in principle, and inflexible in purpose. These are the characteristics which make one a natural leader of men, and Mr. Chandler by mere force of will commonly carried the doubting and hesitating among his associates along with him. He was less learned, courtly

and polished than his predecessor, he knew much less of literature and the history of foreign countries and our relations with them; but he resembled Governor Cass in his integrity and thrift, while in his nature he was far more combative and persistent. When the time came for the great life and death struggle of the nation, no defiance rang out clearer and stronger, no courage was less doubtful of results, no vote was more unhesitatingly or more emphatically given for radical measures than were those of Zachariah Chandler. For twelve years he spoke the voice of the state in the senate, and on the main questions of the day his utterances were never of a doubtful import. Governor Bingham was his fitting colleague when the civil war began, but he died in 1861, and was succeeded by Jacob M. Howard, another man of strong and positive qualities, respected alike for his learning, for his great natural parts, and for his integrity and fearlessness, who immediately took good rank in the senate, where he commanded general respect.

Governor Bingham was succeeded as executive by Moses Wisner, and he after two years by Austin Blair. Both these gentlemen were natives of New York, and both were inflexible in devotion to an undivided country. When the war broke out Governor Wisner entered the army at the head of a regiment, and great expectations followed him to his new field, but he fell a victim to disease before there had been opportunity to give proof of military ability. His successor is still living, and performing with undiminished strength such duties

as are assigned him, and therefore with record still incomplete; but it must be said of his administration that it was made notable by the refusal to join in compromising the dignity of the country and the constitutional rights of the people in order to win back seceding states, and by the vigor and fidelity with which the state, while the war lasted, performed all national duties.

When the war broke out Michigan was found to be loyal to the core. All parties, as by instinct, perceived that a great struggle was before us, which was to put to final test the institutions of the fathers, and to determine for all time whether we were henceforth to be one of many under a living constitution, or to be many and not one, under a disrupted and despised compact. The alternative admitted of no hesitation, and reason not less than sentiment responded to the summons of the Union, and responded again and again as the need increased in urgency. Nor in this did Governor Cass, though fresh from associations which had tainted some others, waver or hesitate. He had lost his youthful fire and vigor when the war began, and no doubt felt much of that despondency which is a common accompaniment of great age, in times of public danger and perplexity; but when he thought the time had come that he could no longer serve his country in the cabinet, he withdrew, to come back to the scenes of his early labor and successes, and there, with his old neighbors and constituents assembled about him, urged firm adherence to the cause of their common country, and gave his

last public utterance for an indissoluble union of indestructible states.

The deeds of Michigan's honored sons are resplendent in the history of the great civil war. How honorable was the part which Israel B. Richardson, Alpheus S. Williams, and others like them, now gone from among us, took in the great constitutional debate where cannon answered cannon in the argument! And that mighty man of war, George A. Custer, a lion in the battle and a child by the fireside; how the mountain passes of Virginia thundered beneath the tramp of his horsemen as he hurled them upon the enemy, striking never a light nor dallying blow, and winning never a barren victory. But Custer, too, is laid to rest

"With all his country's wishes blest,"

—But not until the battle storm had passed away,
"With its spent thunders at the break of day."

Leaving

"A greater earth and fairer sky behind,
Blown crystal clear by freedom's northern wind."

Of the four years trial of the constitution, in the civil war only this need here be said: The bands of union which some feared and many hoped were but withes of straw proved to be bands of iron, so entwined with the affections of the people as to bid defiance to assaults from any quarter. The idea that with many people has been almost a maxim, that it is almost impossible to support republican institution in large countries was shown to be utterly baseless. Other nations recognize the cogency of the proof. In Great Britain the monarchy has become little more than a name; France at last seems

securely Republican, and, excepting Russia and Turkey, every nation in Europe has been quickened to high life by American example, and either secured representative institutions or perfected such as it had before.

Proceeding with the regular course of events, the organization of an independent supreme court a little before the war should be mentioned. Of the justices of this court, Isaac P. Christianity and James V. Campbell remained long enough on the bench to make for themselves great names in legal circles, as did also Benjamin F. Graves, who in 1868 became their fitting associate.

The successor of Governor Blair was Henry H. Crapo, a native of Massachusetts, who was recommended to the people by his eminent business ability, which had been exhibited in many different vocations and with unvarying success. He was once reelected and is remembered as an able, careful and prudent executive. During his term the fever of voting municipal aid to railroads was afflicting the country, and he strove, but without success, to stay its progress in this state. This method of making use of municipal credit and resources was, however, brought to a stop by a decision of the supreme court before the evils had become very serious.

The successor of Governor Crapo was Henry P. Baldwin, a native of Rhode Island, who for many years had been extensively engaged in business in Detroit as merchant, manufacturer and banker, and had won an enviable reputation for ability, integrity and liber-

ality. He held the office for two terms, retiring at the beginning of 1873. Succeeding him for two terms was John J. Bagley, a native of New York. In him the state had for executive one of those strong and vigorous characters who by their native sense, business tact and ability, and promptitude in the performance of duty do honor to the commonwealth with which they unite their fortunes. Many such have made their homes in Michigan, but none more worthy of honorable mention than John J. Bagley. He began life without means, and with but slight educational advantages, but he was full of energy and was prosperous in business from the first; his stores of useful information kept pace with his other acquisitions, so that when he was called to the office of governor his fitness for the place was universally recognized, and his administration was able, popular and wise. He was a man of large heart and of strong domestic and social ties; he was proud of his state and city, and he felt every inch the governor when he had occasion to be their representative abroad, and to speak as he delighted to do in their praise.

The gentlemen who have held the office of governor since the time of Governor Bagley are fortunately all still living, and may be daily met in social and business circles, where their ability and worth make them prominent and respected. Charles M. Croswell held the office from 1877 to 1881; David H. Jerome from 1881 to 1883; Josiah W. Begole from 1883 to 1885, and the latter then gave place to Russell A. Alger.

Each of these gentlemen, as a private citizen, was known and respected for the energy, prudence and success with which he managed his own business interests, and the people expected from each an administration of public affairs which would be prudent, conscientious and watchful, and in no instance were the expectations disappointed. Governors Crosswell and Begole were natives of New York, and Governor Alger, of Ohio. To Governor Jerome belongs the proud distinction of being the first governor of Michigan who was born within its limits, the true representative of those who were reared among its stumps and taught in its district schools. Good rearing and good teaching that must have been that gave a product so sturdy, vigorous and self-reliant, so well calculated by energy and persistence to hew an open road to public respect and fortune.

The succession in the federal senate was kept up by the election of Thomas W. Ferry to succeed Jacob M. Howard in 1871, and Isaac P. Christiancy to succeed Zachariah Chandler in 1875. Judge Christiancy did not serve out his term, but resigned to accept the appointment of minister to Peru, and Henry P. Baldwin succeeded him for a time under executive appointment, until the election by the legislature of Omar D. Conger, who is still in office. Senator Ferry was once reelected, and was succeeded by Thomas W. Palmer, in 1883. All these gentlemen are still living and still making history.

Of the men who served the state faithfully in the lower house of congress,

and whose records have been sealed by death, a few have already been mentioned. It would be a pleasing task to name all the others in succession; but the list is long, and at best we could only pass through it, and place a laurel here and there upon a worthy brow. And among the worthy was William A. Howard, a man of strong and positive qualities, who represented the first district from 1855 to 1861. He took high rank in congress and had a place on most important committees. One of them was the special committee created for the investigation of the inroads into Kansas by armed bands from the border states. The country was then excited beyond all former precedent by what seemed to be the approaching culmination of the struggle over slavery, and already from state to state leaped the live thunder of the coming tempest. The committee in an elaborate report put plainly before the people a mass of startling facts, constituting one of the most important historical documents of the period. Mr. Howard was also one of the committee of thirty-three appointed to consider and report upon the subject of further national compromises, but his principles forbade him to take even the shortest step backward, and he performed effective service in defeating the purpose for which the committee was created. Men doubted at the time whether this was best, but few doubt now.

Another worthy name is that of Fernando C. Beaman, who entered congress in 1861, and had the rare fortune, unequaled in the state, except in the cases

of J. A. Hubbell and Omar D. Coinger, of serving for five consecutive terms. He was a modest man and became less prominent in congress than many others who were neither so able nor so useful. Fidelity to duty was to him the main-spring of public action, and when he was offered the appointment of senator on the resignation of Senator Christiancy he declined because his health was then failing and he could not in conscience accept an office to whose responsibilities he felt himself physically inadequate. Charles Upson, also, who served for three terms, beginning in 1863, was a man of ability and sterling worth, and the career of a frank, manly, upright, honorable and useful citizen was closed when he passed away, having served the state in many important offices.

It is pleasing, also, as we pass along, to note some federal appointments made in evident recognition of the truth that the office should seek the man and not the man the office. Such was the appointment of President Angell of the university to conduct an important and delicate negotiation with China, a deserved compliment to the profession of which he is so distinguished a member, and which in China is particularly respected and esteemed. It was a graceful return which the Flowery Kingdom made to the state when it bestowed upon the university its excellent display of Chinese productions, which at New Orleans had excited so greatly the interest of all visitors. And eminently worthy also was the selection of George V. N. Lothrop, the distinguished leader of the bar of the state, for the important post

of minister to Russia. When the national executive so emphatically makes fitness the test in his selections, the people are not likely to overlook or even in thought to underrate the fundamental maxim that public office is a public trust.

But while thus mentioning a few of the many worthy men who have filled with credit important offices, we are reminded continually that many of the most notable and useful of the citizens of the state have seldom or never held public office. They have been active and served the public well in their several callings, and set worthy examples; but for various reasons, not personally discreditable, have lived and died private citizens. They may not be the less entitled to public honor for that reason. The test of worth is not in holding public office, but in showing by an intelligent performance of duty everywhere a fitness to hold it. A state's choicest possessions are its men of broad and vigorous minds, pure character and noble aspirations, whether they serve the public in high station or low; as cultivators of the soil, in the professions or in handicraft employments. Such men inspire and elevate all who come within the sphere of their influence; they give the state respect and standing abroad; they strengthen it in the esteem and regard of the whole body of its people, and they create among its youth emulation in excellence which is better for them and for the state than any reaching after mere personal distinction of wealth or office. Nor does the public spirited citizen fail to find that in private life he

is charged with public duties which in their performance may be made of the highest utility, and while he performs them faithfully, he knows he stands not merely at the post of duty but at the post of honor. The trappings of office are mere tinsel, but commanding worth, as Emerson has so justly said, "Must sit crowned in all companies."

Thus in brief space have we attempted to summarize the leading events in state history. As thus presented, the history seems tame and commonplace as compared with what during the same period has been taking place in other countries. No battle has been fought on our soil, no violent revolution has occurred in government, the steady pulse of industry has not been disturbed by the near approach of any alarming danger. There have been local calamities and disorders, but not once in all the period of state existence has anything occurred so strange and remarkable as to rivet to it the anxious eyes of the world. But yet—and largely because of this very fact—how mighty have been the changes! The state which, fifty years ago, was knocking at the door of the Union for the favor of admission, now numbers a population equal to that of all the American colonies at the time they first set British power at defiance in refusing to yield obedience to the Stamp Act. In fifty years the state has added to its population as much as the continent did in the first 150 years of its colonization, and its growth in material wealth has been still more wonderful. This single fact is far more striking and significant, and far more worthy the atten-

tion of statesmen and historians than could possibly be the greatest of battles and the most brilliant of victories upon which nothing was depending, but the gratification of individual or national ambition. Nor will the character of the population acquired suffer in comparison with that of any other country on the globe. The population is mixed as to nationality, with the Puritan blood predominating, but it is sufficiently homogeneous for all important purposes of the social state and of government. British America is largely and usefully represented; the Germans are planted on all sides, making intelligence and industry productive; all parts of the British islands have furnished contingents, as has Holland also, and other European countries; but disturbing elements are few, and order, industry, and thrift are everywhere. The educational system which the state so early established and so wisely nourished receives cordial support from adopted citizens, and it grows and prospers steadily and strongly, having, like the gentle showers of heaven, blessings for all. Rarely in either public or social concerns does nationality of birth determine the action of the individual. To the sober, industrious citizen of foreign birth, whether born in British islands or in Scandinavia, or beyond the Rhine, or in that small country of great renown, "where the broad ocean leans against the land," the home of nativity may always remain the home of sentiment, but the country of adoption will not, for that reason, be the less cherished; and common interest, common pursuits,

common enjoyments and common aims and purposes, must rapidly obliterate distinctions, leaving all proud that of right they are entitled in this beautiful and thrifty state to share the priceless benefits of its institutions.

And its people may well take pride in the state whether they contemplate it simply in its grand results, or examine it in comparison with other states. In the main its record is a clean one, bearing upon it few marks that one should care to erase. After passing over the brief spendthrift days of its youth, we have only the unexciting story of how energy, enterprise, prudence, and thrift may quietly and without the notice of the world build up a mighty state, with all the elements of strength and every promise of enduring prosperity. And were we to go back of the record to show who those were who were most active, efficient, and able in state building, it would appear that for the most part they were men who began empty-handed but strong-hearted, and by mental and physical energy, and force of character made for themselves a name while helping the state to greatness.

Michigan was the twenty-sixth state to take its place in the American Union, but it has been advancing steadily and with strong and even pace to the front, and to-day only eight are leading it in wealth and population. And while Michigan has been overtaking and passing so many of the older states, not one, new or old has ever taken, and securely held a position in advance of Michigan. Of the original thirteen only New York, Penn-

sylvania, and Massachusetts have now more people, and in a little time the proud old Bay state must content herself with a lower place. What more can be said in praise of the state than that it has more than kept pace with the astonishing growth of the country, and more than kept good the wonderful promise of its earliest years. Justly and with the emphasis of proud satisfaction may its citizens exclaim as they welcome the stranger to their borders: *Si aquris amanam peninulam circumspice*—Its beauties, its riches, its attractions are everywhere! But not in its growth, in its beauty, in its wealth in its numbers does the state chiefly pride itself, as its religious and charitable institutions and its complete system of public education, and what the people have done and are doing through these and by these must sufficiently attest. First and foremost the aim of the state has always been to prepare its youth to act well their part in the great drama of life, and in the incidental trials and rivalries. If that aim is accomplished the state may well be content, for material success will abundantly follow.

However rich and diversified are the bounties of nature,

"Man is the nobler growth our realms supply,"
and the strength of the state must always be in the manhood of its people, who, if worthily trained, will make their own success in their chosen walks of life the glory of the commonwealth.

T. M. COOLEY.

MARTIN S. SMITH.

MARTIN S. SMITH was born in Lima, Livingston county, New York, on the twelfth day of November, 1834. His parents, Ira D. and Sarah Snyder Smith, were natives of Columbia county, New York, and removed to the beautiful valley of the Genesee, remaining at Lima only a short time after the birth of the subject of this sketch, when they again removed, establishing themselves at Geneseo, Livingston county, New York.

In 1844, when Martin S. Smith was ten years of age, he accompanied his parents to Michigan, where they took up their residence near Pontiac. Four years later he entered the service of a clothing dealer at Pontiac, and from that day has been constantly engrossed in the serious work of life. His systematic education was only such as could be obtained in the common schools, and ended at his fourteenth year. Unlike some more pretentious institutions, however, these very common schools are noted for thoroughness of training, and Mr. Smith left them with a firm grounding in the rudiments of knowledge, such as has served in many cases as a basis for liberal self-culture.

He remained with his first employer but a short time, leaving him to take a place in the office of the *Pontiac Gazette*, owned and managed by William M. Thompson. After two years, he gave up

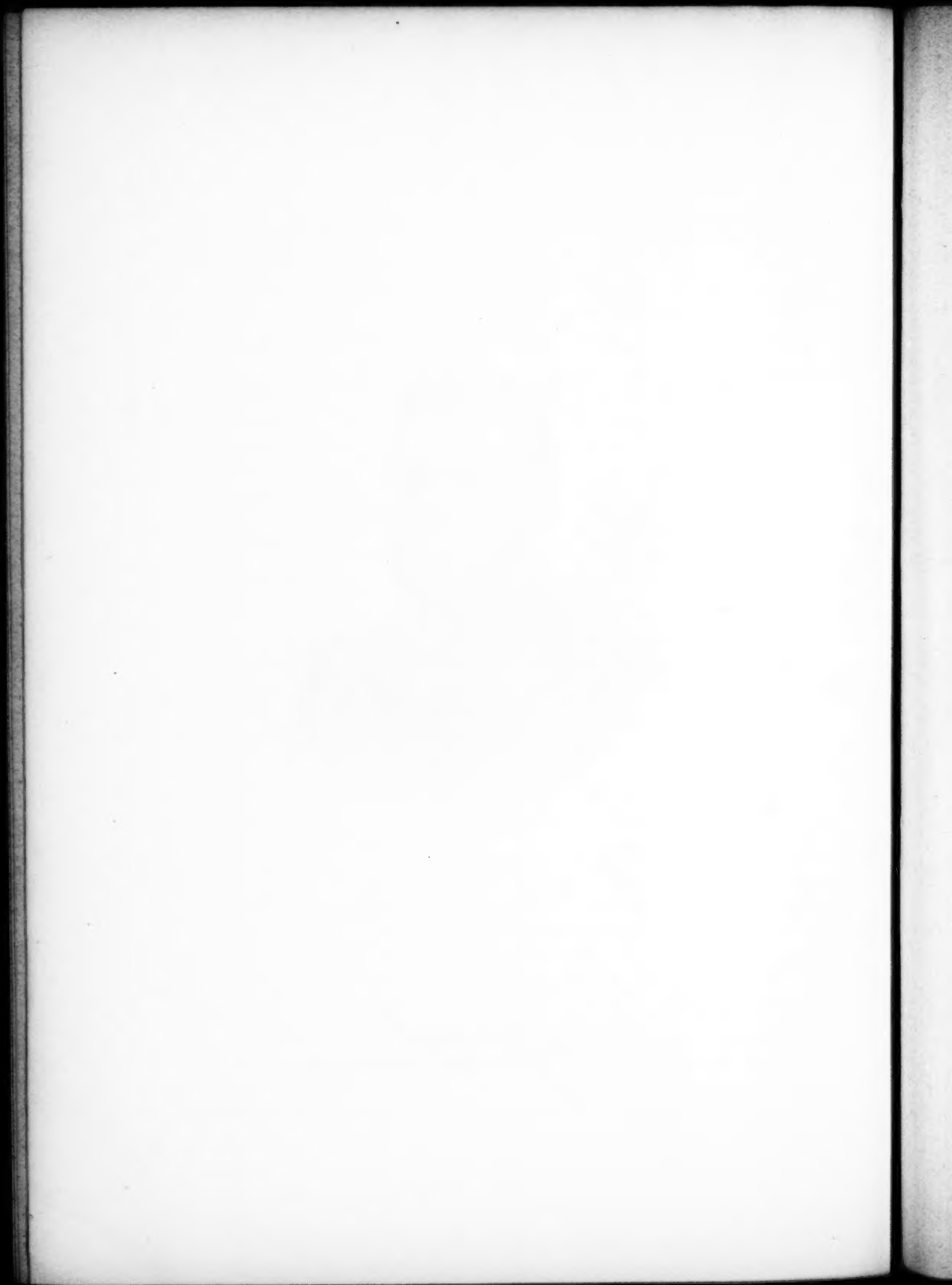
this place for a more profitable engagement, and after one or two minor changes in Pontiac, took an employment in Detroit, which he exchanged a year later for a place in a prominent jewelry firm. This was his first connection with the business of which he became, in later years, a principal representative, and in the prosecution of which he has accumulated a large fortune.

Mr. Smith was employed in this jewelry house until 1859, when the firm failed and its stock and business were offered for sale. More than ten years of hard work and rigid economy had enabled him to save the sum of one thousand dollars; and with this trifling capital, supplemented by the credit which his industry and straightforwardness had won him, he deemed himself warranted in buying the business of the insolvent firm. The experiment then seemed a hazardous one, but the event proved that he had reckoned wisely, for, from that day to this, his success has been uninterrupted and his prosperity a matter of continual growth. This has come only by the most diligent and thoughtful devotion to business, and in those early days of small things, there must have been much wearing anxiety to provide for daily demands with so small a cash capital; but, at whatever cost, the demands were always met and the credit



Engraved by H. W. H. 1877

W. H. H.



of the concern was preserved free from cloud or suspicion.

In August, 1864, Mr. Smith admitted to a share in the business, his brother, Frank G. Smith, who had been in his employ; at the same time Edward T. Smith, who had held for nine years a responsible place in the jewelry house of George Doty of Detroit, also became a partner, the firm name being M. S. Smith & Co., as it to-day remains.

When Mr. Smith purchased the stock of L. P. Durkee & Co., the jewelry business of Detroit was in its infancy, while the trade throughout the United States was not only of far less volume than to-day, but of infinitely narrower scope. The stock of the jeweler in those days was very largely composed of articles of pure utility—watches, clocks, table plate, etc.; the demand for precious stones was small, and the articles of gold and silver jewelry called for by the public seem very crude and trivial when compared with the infinite variety of beautiful ornaments sold to-day.

The purchase was made at a fortunate time, when the country was beginning to revive after a period of financial depression; when the war of the rebellion, with its easy making and lavish spending of money, was close at hand; at the dawning of the day of great fortunes and luxurious living. The growth of the business under Mr. Smith's management may be judged by the fact that the total sales in 1859 were but \$17,000, and that they have since attained in a single year the vast sum of \$300,000.

In the conduct of his business, Mr. Smith has been always progressive, al-

most to radicalism, and has gained the first and largest profit from the adoption of new lines of business policy, in which others followed, after their safety had been proven by his success. As early as 1868, he visited Europe, and made arrangements for the direct importation of goods, benefiting himself by cutting off the profits theretofore made by exclusive importers and other middlemen, and giving to his customers the newest conceits of the Italian, Swiss, French and English workmen, before they had lost their novelty by the slow process of trade filtration. He was the first prominent jewelry dealer in the west to recognize the merits of the American watch.

A secondary and certain, though somewhat tardy, result of increased wealth, is the growth of the taste for the beautiful and artistic for its own sake. The rise of the art taste among the American people is a matter of only a decade, or a little more. Amateurs, collectors and *virtuosi* there were before, but the universal desire to possess objects of beauty, which to-day shows its fruition everywhere in the homes of the rich and well-to-do, has grown up within a dozen years, has ceased to be a superficial craze, and remains a permanent and elevating influence.

Mr. Smith has never assumed to be an apostle of aestheticism, but, led by his purely commercial interest, he has given object lessons in art, which have had no little to do with developing and enlarging the taste of the people of Detroit. Very quick to see the tendency of the time, he naturally saw the begin-

ning of the so-called art revival before it had reached the west, and his adroit agents supplied from every foreign market the artistic objects for which he felt sure there would in time be a sale. Thus, at the beginning, he was in advance of the public taste, and aided by his foresight in creating the very demand he had equipped himself to supply. So he has continued; his beautiful store, like every great jewelry establishment of the day, seems more a museum of art than a mere place of traffic, and the wisdom of his advanced policy is shown in the firm hold he has gained and held upon the liberal and discriminating buyers of his city and state.

The business was first carried on at No. 51 Woodward avenue. In 1863 it was removed to the northwest corner of Woodward and Jefferson avenues, there remaining until 1883, when the splendid building at the corner of Woodward avenue and State street was completed and occupied.

In the year 1879, the firm was incorporated under the name of "M. S. Smith & Co.," the senior partner retaining a large interest. Its present officers are: president, F. G. Smith; vice-president, Edward J. Smith; secretary, Charles Roe jr., and treasurer, Martin S. Smith. Its place at the head of the jewelry business in Michigan and in the front rank of the western trade is beyond question.

Since the reduction of his business to corporate form, Mr. Smith has retired from its personal management, relinquishing the detail to his very competent

associates, and devoting much of his time to other important business interests. In the year 1874 he formed a partnership with the Honorable Russell A. Alger and George W. Bissell, under the firm name of R. A. Alger & Company, dealers in long pine timber and pine lands. This firm, in 1881, was incorporated under the name of Alger, Smith & Company, and Mr. Smith is now its treasurer, Mr. Alger its president and Mr. R. K. Hawley its vice-president. Its investments and operations are larger than those of any other concern in the world engaged in the same specialty, and Mr. Smith gives the greater portion of his time to its service. He is also president of the American Eagle Tobacco company, a director of the American Exchange National bank and of the Michigan Mutual Life Insurance company; was once upon the directorate of the Wayne County Savings bank, and has been, since May, 1869, a director of Woodward cemetery. In 1882 the Manastique Lumbering company was formed, and Mr. Smith has ever since been its treasurer; he is vice-president of the Detroit Bay City & Alpena Railway company; president and treasurer of the Detroit & St. Clair Plank Road company.

He has found time, in spite of his many business cares, to give attention to the various social and material interests of Detroit. He was one of those who, in 1869, signed a communication urging upon the city council the purchase of Belle Isle for park purposes, a plan which has given to the city, at small cost, a pleasure ground easy of access,

and, fresh from the hand of nature, ready endowed with advantages in the imitation of which other cities have spent millions of dollars. He was also a director of the Detroit Medical college until it ceased to exist.

That Mr. Smith should be a lover and a discriminating critic of art, goes almost without the saying, for his daily occupation for many years compelled an attention to its details which would have educated a much less sensitive eye than his. He has given a generous encouragement to the art movement in Detroit, by which has recently been assured the erection of a permanent museum, contributing liberally of his means, and giving a moral support that was scarcely less effective in bringing the enterprise to final success. He has been a collector, not only as a dealer, but as an amateur, and his home is adorned with many gems selected in the course of his travels.

Mr. Smith has neither had time nor taste for active politics. He is a Republican, but not an extreme partisan, and has never held an elective office. In 1872 he was appointed a police commissioner to succeed the late John J. Bagley, when the latter resigned upon his election to the governorship. He was reappointed to this office in 1877, and again in 1886.

In 1862 Mr. Smith married Mary E. Judson of Detroit.

Though he so early began the practical work of life, Mr. Smith is a man of information and practical education. He has traveled extensively, observed intelligently and read with discrimination. He has, what many learned persons have not, a large practical income of useful knowledge from his intellectual investments.

As a business man, measuring the accomplishments of his life by the years they have occupied in the making, and the capital with which he began, his success stands second to none among the many successful men of Detroit. There has been nothing sensational or speculative in his career. Every step has been thoughtfully and deliberately made, and every advance has been at the cost of hard and self-denying labor.

Socially he holds an important position in the economy of the city, and a very warm place in the esteem of those who know him well. He is kind, unaffected and unspoiled, liberal, though wisely discriminating in charity, and seems to have taken to heart the advice given to a friend by a great social philosopher—"If you would be happy, let your fortune be your servant, not your master."

W. B.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

WHEN, on the thirtieth of November, 1753, George Washington reached Venango, Pennsylvania, on a tour over the Alleghany mountains "to visit and deliver a letter to the commander of the French forces," on French creek, he was told by those in authority at the mouth of that stream, "that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio." "They pretend," wrote Major Washington, in his journal kept upon that occasion, "to have undoubted right to the river from a discovery made by one La Salle."

In 1755, in a "Memorial in Answer to the Observations by the British Ministry," authorized by the French king, is the following regarding the discovery of the Ohio:

The Ohio, otherwise called Belle-Riviere, or the Fair river, forms a natural communication between Canada and the Louisiana by the Lake Erie. The French who were concerned in the discovery and the maintaining this communication, were the first who surveyed this river, of which the Sieur de la Salle, a gentleman of Normandy, had visited a part in 1679 [1669].

There are other writings extant clearly showing that the French claimed the Ohio valley just before the Seven Years' war, by virtue of La Salle's discovery.

ONE of the noted annual events in Chicago (for the last eight years) is the reception held at the Calumet club house for the old settlers of that city. At the last yearly occurrence, the parlors were filled with aged gentlemen and ladies who represented all that is best, and bravest, and truest in that fast-growing civilization. Two hundred and twenty guests were served to an appropriate and modest supper in the dining hall. Old songs, old dances, and stories, and handshakes with old friends were the order of the evening. Letters were read from several persons whose arrival antedated the village government. Gurdon S. Hubbard,

who was too feeble to attend, first saw the site of the city in 1818. J. S. Sackett, now residing at La Grange, made his way to the western metropolis in the summer of 1831. John L. Wilson contributed an account of the auction sale of the Grand Pacific and postoffice blocks in 1834, for \$325 and \$350 each.

THE first newspaper printed in what is now the state of Ohio (then a part of the Northwest Territory), was issued at Cincinnati, by William Maxwell, on the ninth day of November, 1793. It was called *The Centinel of the Northwest Territory*. The issue of the *Centinel* was necessarily irregular, on account of the difficulty in procuring supplies of printing paper. The sheet was emphatically "a brief chronicler of the times." In the summer of 1796, Edmund Freeman purchased the *Centinel* establishment and changed the name of the paper to *Freeman's Journal*, which was continued until 1800, when Mr. Freeman moved to Chillicothe, where he established the *Chillicothe Gazette*.

A MELANCHOLY interest attaches to the following letter, which is here for the first time published. The original was handed to William Myres by Squire Boone, brother of the famous Daniel Boone, to be taken over the mountains to Colonel Campbell, but Myres, who was acting as an express for Colonel George Rogers Clark from Vincennes to Virginia, was killed by the Indians; and the letter, sprinkled with his blood, was sent by the savages to Captain R. B. Lernoult, commandant at Detroit, on the side of the British, during the first half of the Revolutionary war:

"CANTUCKEY COUNTY THE FALLS OF THE OHIO

"April 4th 1779

"SIR

"I received your letter Dated Dec'm 20th for which I

return you grate thanks but in regard to seling the Horse I would much rather I could get him out hear, for the Indians has took my Horses and they are very dear to buy hear. and I humbly beg you would send to the Gentleman that has him to send him to me by William Moires and you will much oblige your humble serant

"SQUIRE BOON

nevertheless if the Gentleman sees cause to keep him and send me two hundred pounds let him use his plesure

"To

"Col n Arthur Camble"

ON THE fifth of June, David S. Sheldon, an Iowa scientist, died in Davenport, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was one of the foremost scholars in the department of natural science in the state of Iowa. He was born in Rupert, Vermont; was a graduate of Middlebury college in 1831; a student in the theological institution at Andover in 1834-5, and, after teaching for several years in Bennington, Vermont, Potsdam, New York, Northhampton, Massachusetts, and Burlington, Iowa, was called in 1853 to the chair of natural sciences in Iowa college, then recently founded at Davenport. In 1860, he was chosen to fill the same chair in Griswold college, which succeeded to the site and buildings of Iowa college upon the removal of the latter institution to Grinnell. He was a thorough scholar, an apt teacher, and for thirty-three years discharged the duties of his professorship with unflinching devotion. He was a scientist of the school of Agassiz and Hitchcock. He was one of the founders of the Academy of Sciences at Davenport, the chief scientific institution in Iowa. In its service and honor, with characteristic devotion, he taxed himself to the last.

IN THE last number of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY*, we stated that the authenticity of Champlain's map of 1632 was doubted by some writers. We are asked, by whom? In the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. I, pp. 1-13, in a paper entitled "Champlain's Expedition of 1615 Against the Onondagas," the author, O. H. Marshall, says:

It is supposed by some that the edition [of 'Champlain's Voyages'] of 1632 which contains the map, and is composed of his previous publications, was not the work of Cham-

plain, and never passed under his personal supervision. It is asserted that it was compiled by his publisher, Claude Collet, to whose carelessness the error in the name, as contained on the map, may be attributed. There was no map to the edition of 1619 and the one which accompanied that of 1632, was not constructed until seventeen years after the date of the expedition [against the Onondagas by Champlain in 1615] as appears from a memorandum on its face. It may not have been compiled from authentic data. . . . It is also worthy of note, that the map is not once referred to by Champlain in his text. Not only was it constructed after all his narratives were written, but the index to it was evidently added by some other hand.

In *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. II, pp. 103-108, is a lengthy note by John Gilmary Shea, on "Champlain's Expedition into Western New York in 1615, and the Recent Identification of the Fort by General John S. Clark." In this paper, Dr. Shea takes issue with Mr. Marshall as to the unauthentic character of the map contained in the compilation of 'Champlain's Voyages' of 1632. He says:

Mr. Marshall, in his article on the expedition, in the January number (1877) of the *Magazine of American History*, inclines to reject the map as not being in the volume published in 1619, nor appearing until long after the date of the expedition. . . . But the map is evidently Champlain's, and he was too good a hydrographer for us to reject his map as a guide for parts he actually visited. His wonderfully accurate surveys of the New England harbors prove his ability, and we know he gleaned information from the Indians as to parts he was yet to visit. There we expect no accuracy. He embodied such information as he could acquire.

To Dr. Shea's communication, Mr. Marshall replies in the *Magazine of American History* Vol. II, pp. 470-483, the gist of which is that there are discrepancies between what Champlain wrote (which was published in 1619) and his map intended to illustrate it, which discrepancies cannot be reconciled.

THE Rev. (now bishop) Edmund de Schweinitz, in his 'Life and Times of David Zeisberger' (pp. 477 and 478), says that on the fourth day of July, 1780, at Salem, on the western branch of the Tuscarawas, in what is now Tuscarawas county, Ohio, "that veteran missionary, Adam Grube, united John Heckewelder and Miss [Sara] Ohneberg in marriage. It was, doubtless, the first wedding of a white

couple in the present state of Ohio." However, nearly a year and a half before the tying of this nuptial knot, John Leeth, a prisoner to the Delaware Indians, was married in Gnadenhutten, a "Moravian" Indian village lying in the outskirts of the present town of that name, in the county just mentioned, to a young woman, seventeen or eighteen years of age, also a prisoner to the Indians, named Sally Lowray, but called by the white people, in the wilderness, "Elizabeth."

ALTHOUGH the following letter does not bear a copy of the signature of the writer, yet, judging from the initials attached to other letters in the same book (War Department, Washington, D. C., "Military Book," Vol. II.), there can be no doubt but that it emanated from Gen. Henry Dearborn, then secretary of war, and was intended for Brigadier-General James Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the United States army:

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 28, 1804.

James Wilkinson,

SIR: Being of opinion that for the general defence of our Country we ought not to rely on Fortifications but on men and steel; and that works calculated for resisting batteries of cannon are necessary only for our principal seaports, I cannot conceive it to be useful or expedient to construct expensive works for our interior military posts, especially such as are intended merely to hold the Indians in check. I have therefore directed stockade works, aided by block-houses to be erected at Vincennes, Chicago, near the mouth of the Miami of the Lake and at Kaskaskias, in conformity to the rough sketch herewith inclosed each calculated for a full company; the block-houses to be constructed of timber slightly hewed and of the most durable kind to be obtained at the respective places, the magazine for powder to be of brick or a conic figure each capable of receiving from fifty to one hundred Barrels of Powder. Establishments of the kind here proposed will I presume be necessary, for each of the military posts in upper and Lower Louisiana, New Orleans and its immediate dependencies excepted. I will thank you to examine the enclosed sketch and to give me your opinion on the dimensions and other proposed arrangements. You will observe that the block-houses are intended to be so placed as to scour from the upper and lower stories the whole of the lines. The back part of the Barracks are to have port holes which can be opened when necessary, for the use of musketry for annoying an enemy. It will, I presume, be proper ultimately to extend the palisades around the block-houses.

I am, etc.,

LEOPOLD VON RANKE, the renowned German historian, died in Berlin, on Sunday, the twenty-third of May, in his ninety-first year, having been born at Wiehe, in Thuringia, on the twenty-first of December, 1795. 'The History of Roman and German Nations from 1494 to 1535,' and 'Criticisms upon Modern Historians' were his first published works. When they were given to the public he was twenty-nine years of age. The work which first gave him an European reputation was 'The Popes of Rome,' a continuation, really, of 'The Princes and Peoples of Southern Europe.' His most complete effort is his 'German History in the Time of the Reformation.' The closing work of his life, a history of the world, entitled '*Weltgeschichte*,' projected after he was eighty years of age, was to have been in nine volumes. Six of these he lived to complete.

THE officers of the Massachusetts Historical society elected on the fifteenth of April last, were George E. Ellis, D. D., LL. D., president; Charles Deane, LL. D., Francis Parkman, LL. D., vice-presidents; Rev. Edward J. Young, A. M., recording secretary; Justin Winsor, A. B., corresponding secretary; Charles C. Smith, Esq., treasurer, and Hon. Samuel A. Green, M. D., librarian. The society has just published Vol. I, sixth series, of its 'Collections,' containing, besides a full list of membership past and present, the 'Letter-Book' of Samuel Sewall, 1685-1711.

The Virginia Historical society has also just issued Vol. V, new series, of its 'Collections,' taken up entirely with documents relating to the Huguenot emigration to Virginia "and to the Settlement at Manakin-Town, with an Appendix of Genealogies," the whole edited and compiled by R. A. Brock, corresponding secretary and librarian of the society. The 'History of the Rise of the Huguenots in France' by Henry M. Baird (to be followed by two uniform volumes on "The Huguenots and Henry IV" and, it is hoped, by others, covering the period of struggle and sufferings down to the Edict of Toleration), and 'History of

the *rangueno*. Emigration to America,' by Charles W. Baird, are well supplemented by this timely "assembling of scattered data relating to the Huguenot settlement in Virginia, and of families of the lineage," by Mr. Brock.

"THE Vatican at Rome, the ancient palace of the popes, and the most magnificent in the world," says Andrew Smith, in Notes and Queries for May and June, Manchester, New Hampshire, "stands on the bank of the Tiber, and on the hill anciently called by the same name." "Its extent," says that writer, "is enormous, the number of rooms, at the lowest computation, amounting to four thousand, four hundred and twenty-two; and, in its riches in marbles, bronzes and frescoes, in ancient statues and gems, and in paintings, is unequalled in the world, not to mention its library, the richest in manuscripts in Europe."

AMERICA's great historian, Bancroft, is seldom at fault in statements of fact; sometimes, however, he is "caught napping." In speaking of Major Robert Rogers' tour to Detroit, in 1760, to take possession of that post ('History of the United States' [Ed. 1883] Vol. II, pp. 523-524), he says they—Rogers and his force—were "the first considerable party of men whose tongue was the English that ever spread sails on its waters [meaning Lake Erie]." But they "spread" no "sails;" their boats were propelled by oars. "It is recommended to the soldiers as well as officers," says Rogers, in his "Order of March," "not to mind the waves of the lake; but, when the surf is high, to stick to their oars." (The italicizing is ours.)

"MR. SPOFFORD," says the Washington correspondent of the *Cleveland Leader*, "has been librarian of congress for over twenty years; and he has seen the library grow from ninety thousand to more than five hundred thousand books. He is the busiest man in Washington, and never has an idle moment. He walks fast, talks fast, and uses others to help him in his work. He never writes him-

self what he can just as well dictate, and does not allow his energies to be wasted on what cheaper men could do as well. He does a prodigious amount of literary labor; has always several different articles on hand, and turns out many things for encyclopædias, magazines and books."

IN SECTION nineteen, of the law of 1788, of the Northwest Territory, respecting crimes and punishments, is this provision:

If any children or servants shall, contrary to the obedience due their parents or masters, resist or refuse to obey their lawful commands, upon complaint thereof to a justice of the peace, it shall be lawful for such justice to send him or them so offending to the goal or house of correction, there to remain until he or they shall humble themselves to the said parents' or masters' satisfaction.

DURING the late civil war in the United States, Indiana had, in its volunteer regiments, six thousand, four hundred and fifty-six Germans. Among the most noteworthy of its representative German soldiers were General August Willich and Colonel John Gerber, the latter being killed in command of the Twenty-fourth Indiana regiment, at Shiloh, on the seventh of April, 1862.

THE student of the history of the New World will find Justin Winsor's 'Narrative and Critical History of America' an exceedingly valuable aid to his studies. So far as issued, it is all that is claimed for it, whether narrative or critical. Mr. Winsor, as editor, is binging to his aid some of the best living writers upon American history in the country—standing himself in the front rank.

ON THE twenty-first day of June, 1821, upon the island of Mackinaw, in the present state of Michigan, one Alexis St. Martin, a Canadian, eighteen years of age, in the employ of the American Fur company, was accidentally shot in the left side. This accident is well known to the medical fraternity throughout the civilized world, from its results. St. Martin was not more than a yard from the muzzle of the gun when it was discharged; it was loaded with powder and buck-shot. A hole was made

directly into his stomach, which healed but never closed. This enabled Dr. William Beaumont, then post surgeon at the fort upon the island, to experiment upon the action of the gastric juice on various kinds of food and liquors in the stomach of a living subject. These experiments, extending through a series of years, gave to the world much valuable information.

IN THE summer of 1813, during the war with Great Britain, a man named Valentine Slate was permitted by the Indian department to settle upon a branch of the Little Scioto known as the "Rocky Fork," in that part of Ohio then belonging to the Indians, afterwards known as the "New Purchase," where a road from Franklin—now Columbus—to Fort Ferre, at Upper Sandusky, crossed it. This arrangement was made for the convenience and accommodation of the mail carrier; it enabled him to change horses at the place, as Mr. Slate kept a "House of Entertainment" for man and beast. The carrier's contract was to take the mail twice a week between what is now the capital of the state and the county-seat of Wyandot county. Mr. Slate remained at the crossing just named as "tavern-keeper" until the close of the war, when he forfeited his license from the government by selling liquor to the Indians and was removed.

IN WHAT is known as "Brodhead's Expedition to Coshocton," from Fort Pitt at Pittsburgh, in April, 1781, there were, besides Brodhead's force, four companies of Virginia militia. Of these, David Shepherd was colonel; Samuel McCullough, major; Isaac Meeks, adjutant; William McIntyre, quartermaster; James Lemon, sergeant-major, and Jonathan Zane, spy. Captain Joseph Ogle commanded one company; Captain Benjamin Royce, another; Captain Jacob Lefler, a third, and Captain William Crawford, the fourth. The whole number of the militia, including officers, was one hundred and thirty-five.

"TO REACH Detroit from the River Sanduskyet [Sandusky]," says an account written in 1718, "we cross Lake Erie from island to island and get to a place called Point Pelée, where every sort of fish are in great abundance, especially sturgeon—very large, and three, four and five feet in length. There is, on one of these islands, so great a number of cats that the Indians killed as many as nine hundred of them in a very short time. The object of the Indians in making this traverse [crossing from island to island] is to shorten their road considerably." It has frequently been suggested that the "cats" here spoken of were really raccoons; and this would seem to be the fact; for one of the islands was visited by David Zeisberger in 1786, who says there were many of these animals upon it, "but no other game."

THE following extract from a letter written by the Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder, from the banks of the Tuscarawas river to Colonel Brodhead, at Fort Pitt, then an American fortress at Pittsburgh, on the ninth of August, 1779, will serve to show whether he was coerced by Delaware Indians to write to the Fort Pitt commanders, as, in his books ('Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren [Moravians] among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians' and 'An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations, who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States') written many years after, he would have his readers believe:

I have understood by some Delawares who came from Philadelphia that I have been represented as one who listens to any story he may hear, and for that reason have sent such fearful letters to several officers in the service of the United States. I, therefore, think best to leave the communications of all news to the Delawares themselves, and not to trouble myself further about such matters, as they are indeed not properly my business. I thought to do some service to my country to which I am closely attached; and always have made it a rule to write nothing but what I had from a trusty body; likewise to distinguish my news by the words *facts* and *reports*. I think the most I have written has appeared to be true already, and the other part may yet so appear.

PRESS NOTICES.

THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY is the most superb illustrated monthly which reaches our sanctum. The handsome portraits of prominent men are the most striking illustrations we have seen. This magazine deserves the cordial reception that seems everywhere accorded it, and is one of the few periodicals, also, in spite of restriction to a special field, that pleases the general reader quite as much as the historian and antiquarian. Well edited and a credit to American literature. It is well worthy of southern patronage.—*The Southern Critic*.

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THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY for April contains one hundred and seventy pages of valuable and interesting contributions to the history of our western states. Twelve fine steel portraits accompany the biographical papers of the number, among which are a portrait and a particularly good sketch of the life of Mr. Calvin Wells of Pittsburgh, who was a pioneer in the manufacture of steel in the United States. The tenth paper on Pittsburgh, the third on Chicago, and the sixth on B. F. Wade are given. Among the many other articles are a discussion of the authorship of the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, and "An American Kingdom of Mormons." The May number will begin volume IV. of the magazine.—*The Bulletin, Philadelphia*.

That choice and interesting magazine of western interests, published at 145 St. Clair street, Cleveland, Ohio, we find on our table. Each number contains steel engravings of live western men who have made their way to fame and fortune. It is decidedly the magazine for western people to subscribe for. It is five dollars per annum, not half what it is worth.—*Journal, Waynesville, O.*

THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY for June is a very interesting number. It has an instructive article on our early money, criticising McMaster's view of our monetary system. "Art and Artists in Ohio" is the title of an article which gives a brief sketch of the best works from the brushes of the artists of the Buckeye state. It is a very interesting article, attractively written. One of the most interesting features of the number is an article by Milton Reynolds (now of the Lawrence *Journal*) entitled "Twenty-five Years a State," which gives a brief historical sketch of the birth and phenomenal growth of our own great state of Kansas, giving a short sketch of its first governor, Hon. Charles Robinson. Some twenty other articles of interest complete the number.—*Republican, Emporia, Kan.*

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Thomas M. Cooley.